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ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY SANSKRIT SERIES No. 9

LECTURES ON PATAÑJALI'S MAHĀBHĀSYA

VOL. I

(Āhnikas 1-3)

BY

5723

VIDYĀRATNA P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI M.A., PH. D.
Professor of Sanskrit, Annamalai University.

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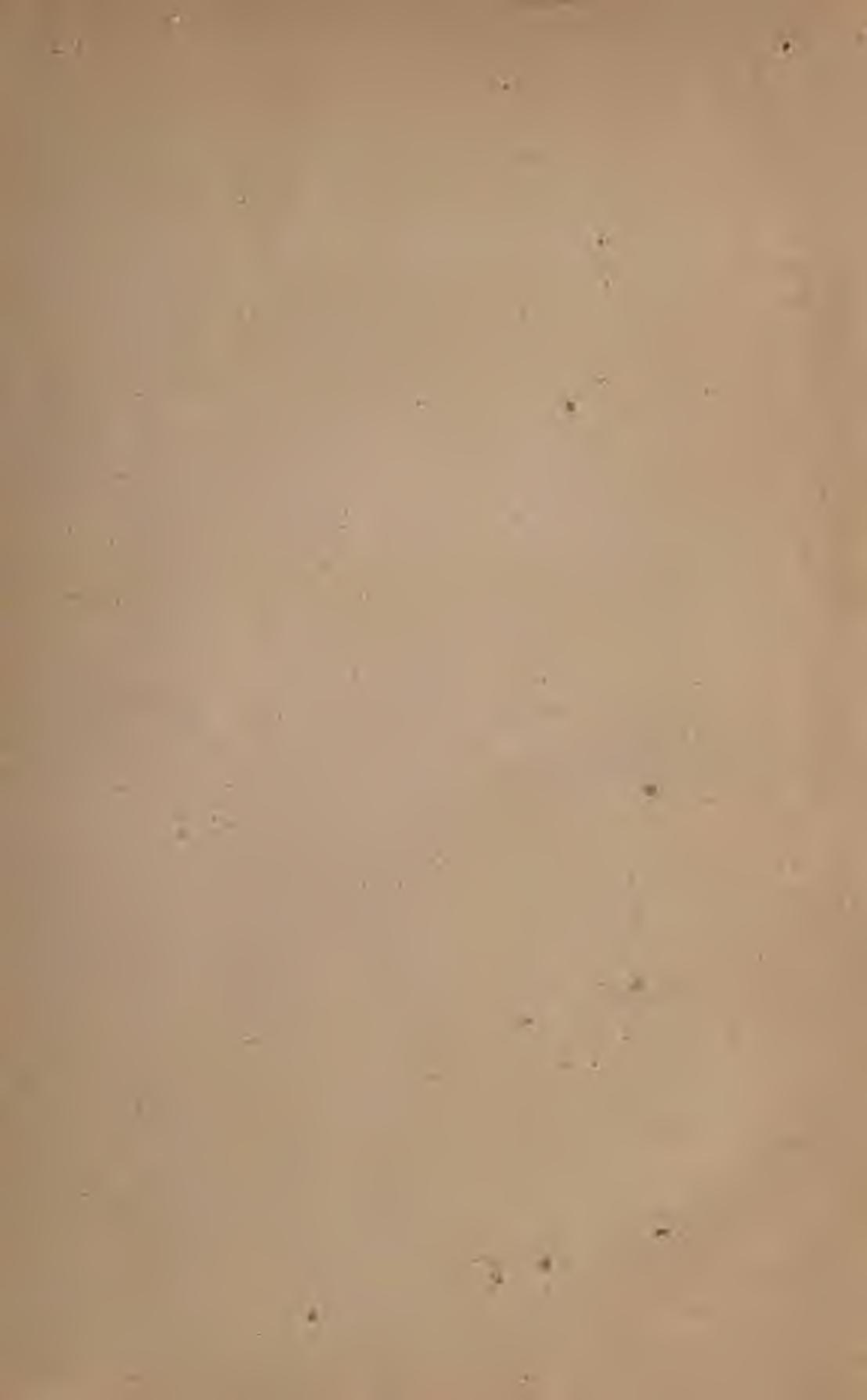
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YD.I

जयत्वणामलैविधविद्यास्थानमिदं सदा ।
जयतात्साम्रुती विद्या सदा सर्वस्समाहता ॥
जयत्वणामलैअष्टी राजासर्वरुदाङ्गितः ।
अष्टिराष्ट्रस्य राजासौ विद्यास्थानप्रपोषकः ॥



Tabular Statement showing the number of sūtras in each pāda of
Aṣṭādhyāyi, the number of sūtras reviewed by Vārttikakāra or Vārttikā-
kāras, Bhāṣyakaṛa etc.

Adhyaya in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyi	No. of Pāda	No. of Sūtras	No. of sūtras with the vārtikas of one Vārttikakāra and bhāṣya								No. of sūtras with the vārtikas of more than one Vārttikakāra and bhāṣya	No. of sūtras wherein vārtikas are explanatory	No. of sūtras wherein vārtikas and bhāṣya	No. of sūtras not deemed necessary by Vārttikakāra	No. of sūtras with bhāṣya alone	No. of sūtras not deemed necessary by Bhāṣyakāra	No. of sūtras wherein Bhāṣyakāra defend Sūtrekara against Vārttikakāra	No. of sūtras in each pāda	No. of sūtras review- ed in each pāda
			i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii									
I	i	76	52	5	47	4	0	18							1	2 + 7	67		
	ii	73	40		36	2	2	14							1	3	54		
	iii	93	31	1	17	15		10							1	2	62		
	iv	110	31		27	4		24	7						1	4	55		
II	i	72	27		17	10		19							1	3	46		
	ii	38	20		15	5		6							1	2	26		
	iii	73	29	3	13	19		11							6	3	43		
	iv	85	31	1	17	15		11							2	2	43		
III	i	150	69	4	43	30		16							1	3	80		
	ii	188	53	2	25	30		7							5	3	62		
	iii	176	49		19	30		9							1	2	58		
	iv	117	19		17	2		10							1	1	24		
IV	i	176	65	1	36	30		21							0	4	87		
	ii	145	35		17	18		20	3						1	2	55		
	iii	168	34	1	24	11		6							1	2	41		
	iv	144	12		6	6		7	1						1	1	19		
V	i	136	47		24	23		12	1						1	2	59		
	ii	140	42		15	27		20							1	2	62		
	iii	119	33	1	20	14		13							1	2	47		
	iv	160	25		10	15		11							1	1	36		
VI	i	223	93	1	54	40		28	2						3	6	122		
	ii	199	33		21	12		5							1	2	38		
	iii	139	47		15	32		18							1	3	65		
	iv	175	56	1	32	25		13							4	4	70		
VII	i	103	30	1	20	11		27							1	2	58		
	ii	118	36		29	7		22							1	1	49		
	iii	120	37	1	16	23		11							2	2	49		
	iv	97	24		12	12		8							1	1	32		
VIII	i	74	24	2	19	7		7							1	2	33		
	ii	108	42		22	20		12							1	2	54		
	iii	119	35		11	24		19							2	2	54		
	iv	68	27	1	13	15		8							1	1	36		
Total	32	3981	1228	26	709	537	8	635	16						36	85	1680		

MAP OF ANCIENT INDIA.



BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS

Rgveda	R. V.
Yajurveda	
Vājasaneyīśamīhitā	V. S.
Sāmavēda	
Atharvavēda	A. V.
Śatapathī—Brāhmaṇa	
Mūṇḍakopanisad	
Mahābhārata—Śāntiparvan.	
Uttararāmāyaṇa	U. R.
Bāndhavyana Dharmasūtra	B. D. Bōdh. Dharma.
Bāudhāyana Grhyasūtra	
Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyi	P.
Pāṇiniya Śikṣā	
Vyādi's Saṅgraha	
Yāsk'a's Nirukta	N.
Jaiminīyasūtras	
Tāittirīya Prātiśākhya	
Kātyāyana Prātiśākhya	
Tolkāppiyam (Tamil)	
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Gāntāma's Nyāyabhāṣya	
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Vōgasūtra	
Manudharmaśāstra	M.
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Bhartṛhari's Pradīpikā	
Do.	Vākyapadiya
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Sphoṭasiddhi by Mandada Miśra
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 Śabdāmaṇīdarpana (Kamurda)
 Siddhāntakāumudi }
 Maṇīramā } by Bhāttōji Dīkṣit
 Śabdakauśṭubha
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 Uddyōta } by Nāgōjibhāṭṭa
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FOREWORD

BY

*Mahāmāhopadhyāya, Vidyālakṣmiṇī, Darśanākālānidhi, Kudupati
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retired Curator of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras
and retired Honorary Professor of Sanskrit and Dean of the Faculty
of Oriental Studies in the Annamalai University.*

My friend Dr. P. S. Subrahmanyā Sastri, M. A., L. T., PH. D., has decided to confer upon me the pleasant and precious privilege of sponsoring, in a short foreword, these lectures in English on the first three *āhnikas* of *Sri Mahābhāṣya* by *Bhagavān Paṭuñjali*. In exercising this privilege, I am happy to say that Dr. Subrahmanyā Sastri has had the good fortune of studying the *Mahābhāṣya* under able teachers and has eagerly sought to acquire suitable opportunities for teaching the *Mahābhāṣya* through the medium of Sanskrit as well as English to Siromani students and to undergraduates studying for the Sanskrit Honours examination of the Annamalai University. A modern *belletrist* of the *Paramāikāntin* type in English and Sanskrit would prefer *Shakespeare* and *Kālidāsa* to the whole of the British Empire if he were asked to choose between the Empire and the works of these great poets. In India, the *Vāiyākaraṇa* tradition cherishes the oft-repeated saying महाभाष्यं का पाठनीयम् महाराज्यं वा पालनीयम्. If a privilege-calculus, similar to the *Ananda-calculus* of the *Tāittirīyōpaniṣat* should be worked out by *Vāiyākaraṇa* traditionists, they would give a scheme in which the opportunity to study and teach the *Mahābhāṣya* is on a par with Supreme Sovereignty in a political sense. Remembering all this, Dr. Subrahmanyā Sastri has happily chosen portions of the *Mahābhāṣya* for

critical exposition through the medium of English in this work which is designed particularly to be of use to undergraduates studying for the Honours Degree examinations in Indian Universities. The exposition is critical and accurate as far as it goes and is lucid, easy and quite in conformity with traditional commentaries. A very useful and copious Introduction is prefixed to this work and Dr. Sastri has used and reviewed all the available material of importance in the writings of several modern scholars—Dr. Kielhorn, Dr. Bhandarkar, Dr. Max-Möller, Dr. Goldstucker, Dr. Faddegon, Dr. Thieme and Dr. Pawate.

This work, which is now being published by Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, carries with it my prayerful wishes and hearty congratulations in the same way and to the same extent as many other works he has been producing and publishing of late in Sanskrit and in Tamil.

सरस्वती श्रुतिमहनी महायताम्

(Camp) Ganapatiagraham,
(via) Ayyampet,
Tanjore Dt., S. I. Ry. }

S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI
6—6—43.



अष्टाभ्यार्थीप्रणेतारं दाक्षीपुत्रं सुपाणिनिम् ।
 वावयकारं वररूचि भाष्यकारं पतञ्जलिम् ॥

 नोकनाथं मसिदरं भाष्यरत्नावलीकृतम् ।
 वेङ्गटाभवरिणशिवाच्यं रामभद्रगुरुं वरम् ॥

 नीलकण्ठं यतिवरं क्षेत्रपालनिवासिनम् ।
 अद्वितमार्गनिष्ठातं शब्दशास्त्रमहोदयिम् ॥

 वैद्यनाथं द्विं भिं भिं मरुरामनिवासिनम् ।
 शब्दशास्त्रप्रवक्तारं गीताध्यर्थप्रकाशकम् ॥

 प्रणम्य तान् गुरुन् सर्वान् प्रसन्नमनसाधुना ।
 कुर्वे बाह्रलभारत्या महाभाष्यविमर्शनम् ॥



PREFACE

Pāṇini, *Kātyāyana-Vararuci* and *Patañjali* form the *Munitrayam* in Sanskrit Grammar.

PĀNINI

Patañjali observes that *Pāṇini* was the son of *Dāksī*,¹ a great ancestor of the author of the *Saṅgraha*,² that *Kāutsa* was his pupil³ and he was known even to children.⁴ He was recognised to be such a great grammarian as to receive the epithets *ācārya*, *bhagavān* and *sukrti* from great scholars like *Kātyāyana*⁵ and *Patañjali*.⁶ The word पृथ्वति makes us infer that *Patañjali* considered him a *rṣi*. Yuan Chwang,

1 Cf. सर्वे तर्जपदादेशो दाक्षिपुत्रस्य पाणिनेः (M. B. under दाक्षि चक्राय 1-1-20, and उपभद्रस्त्रवणं व्याश VII-1-27.)

2 Cf. शोमना खलु दाक्षायणेन मङ्ग्रहत्य लृतिः (M. B. under उपभग्नाति कर्मण 11-3-66.)

3 Cf. उपस्तीक्ष्वान् कौत्सः पाणिनेः (M. B. under माध्यायो चदवसयुक्तः III-2-108.)

4 Cf. आड्हनारं गदाः पाणिनेः (M. B. under आड् नयोद्धवनने I-4-89.)

5 Cf. एकशेषनिदेशात् . . . भगवतः पाणिनेस्त्रदम् (*Vārttika* under अ अ. VIII-4-68); आचारांचारात् संशालिदिः (*id* under उद्दिरदैच 1-1-1); बहुवैहित्यरं शास्त्रं समाकान्तविदेः मुहूर्तः (*id* under बहुवैही प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदम् VI-2-1.)

6 प्रमाणभूत आचार्यः . . . सज्जाणि प्रमाणात् स्म (M. B. under उद्दिरदैच 1-1-1.)
तद्वृग्मसंविहानाद्वागवतः पाणिनेराचार्यस्य (*id* under एकनो द्वे प्रयमस्य VII-1-1.)
मात्रात्तिक आचार्यः (*id* under उद्दिरदैच 1-1-1 and भवाद्वां धातवः 1-3-1.)

7 पृथ्वति लाचार्यः (*id* under बनस्तन्त्रानां सञ्जालोः VI-4-42, etc.)

the Chinese traveller, also calls him so.¹ Ltsing, another Chinese traveller, states thus:—"The *sūtra* is the foundation of all grammatical sciences... It contains 1000 *ślokas*² and is the work of *Pāṇini*... Children begin to learn the *sūtra* when they are eight years old and can repeat it in eight months time."³ Rāmabhadrō Dīkṣita tells us that his father was a *rishi* named *Pani*.⁴ Śabdakalpadruma says that *Pāṇini* was recognised by other names also, viz. *Ahika*, *Śalaṅki*, *Pāṇina* and *Śolātūrīya*.

PĀṇINI'S BIRTH-PLACE.

Yuan Chwang, the commentator on *Hēmaeandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* and most of the modern scholars consider *Pāṇini* to be a native of *Śolātura*, a village near modern Attock in *Gāndhāra*. R. O. Franke thinks that he was born in the north (*Śalātura*), but had come to the east (*Pātaliputra*).⁵ The author of the *Śabdakalpadruma*, however, says that his forefathers belonged to *Śolātura*⁶ and he

1 The rishi applied himself earnestly to selecting from the stock of words and formed an etymology of 1000 stanzas each of 32 words. (On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India by Thomas Watters I pp. 221 and 222. *Words seem to be a wrong translation for syllables.*)

2 *Ślokas* refer to *granthas* with 32 syllables.

3 A record of the Buddhist religion by Ltsing p. 178 and translated by J. Takakusu.

4 पाणिति क्वचिन्मुनिरस्ति पूर्व स पाणिने नाम हुमारमाप।

क्वतुप्यनान्ना उनयेन लोऽपि वाक्यामुद्दहां इवमन्वनन्दत् ॥ (Patalijalitarita 1-47.)

5 *Pāṇini and the Veda* by Dr. Paul Theimer p. 76.

6 अथ पाणिनौ ।

वालतुरीयदासेषो ॥ (अभिवाननिन्नामगो)

गान्धाराप्रदेशविशेषपश्चात्तुरआमवात्त्वादेवास्य तथा नाम शति अभिवाननिन्नामणिटीक्याम् ।

त्रुदीशवात्तुर (IV-3-94) स्त्रान् अभिजनार्थे एव छग प्रस्तवः । अतः स्पष्टः

कलात्तुरप्रदेशः पाणिने पूर्वोत्तराणां वासस्थानमित्येव अवगम्यते न तु तस्मेति (शब्दकल्पद्रुमे)

अथ लिवासाभिजनयोः को विशेषः । निवासो नाम वज्र सम्प्रख्यते । अभिजनो नाम वज्र

पूर्वैक्षितम् (M. B. under S. IV-3-90.)

was not born there. If so, we have to determine his birth-place. *Jaimini* and *Bhartṛhari* state that *Vyākarma* is a *smṛti* written by *śiṣṭas*.¹ Ācārya *Pāṇini* was considered a *śiṣṭa* by *Patañjali* and his followers. *Śiṣṭas*, according to *Patañjali*, are those *brāhmaṇas* who resided in *Āryāvarta* bounded on the north by the Himalayas, on the south by *Pāriyātrā* (a portion of the Vindhya), on the east by *Kālakavina* (near Rajmahal hills in Bengal) and on the west by *Ādarśa* (Aravalli hills) and who were proficient in some *sāstra*, full of contentment, free from avarice, possessing high character and doing their duty without expecting any reward therefor—*धर्माभिनिवेशिनः*. Therefore it may not be wrong if we consider him to have lived in *Āryāvarta*. His mention of the eastern country in *sūtras* like पश्च प्राचां देशं (I-1-75), प्राचां नगरान्ते (VII-3-24), and of the northern country in *sūtis* like उदीच्यामाच्च यद्यचोऽन्तोदाचात् (IV-2-109), and his reference to the opinion of the eastern and northern schools in *sūtras* like शोणात्याचाम् (IV-4-43), मातरपितरौ उदीचाम् (VI-3-32) may be taken as sufficient clue to his having lived in the *madhyadēśa* whose boundary is, according to *Monuharmasāstra*, the Himalayas on the north, the Vindhya on the south, *Prayāg* or Allahabad on the

1 सामुलज्ञानविक्रमा तैथा व्याकरणस्मृतिः ।

विविच्छेदेन शिष्टानाभिदं स्मृतिनिवर्णनम् ॥ (बाक्यपदोऽयं I-143.)

2 के पुनः शिष्टाः । . . . एवं तद्हि निवासतन्त्राचारतरङ्गः । स चाचार आवासिते एव । कः पुनरुयोवर्तः ? । प्रागाद्यशीत् प्रताक्षालक्षवनात् विशिष्टेन हिमवन्तम् उत्तोर्ज पारित्यात्रम् । एतस्मिन्नानीवते निवासे ये ब्राह्मणाः कुम्भीधान्या अलोहुषा अग्निनामकारणाः किंचिद्वन्तरेण कस्यादिच्छद् विद्यायाः पारतास्तत्रभवन्तः शिष्टाः . . . शिष्टपरिज्ञानात्वा अन्द्राचाम्यो M. B. under S. पृष्ठोद्दरादानि यशोपदिष्टम् (VI-3-109) Ādarśa = Aravalli mountains; अलक्षवनः Rajmahal hills; *Pāriyātrā* = West part of Vindhya (Geographical Dictionary by N. L. Dey.)

3 The same idea is mentioned in *Bāudhāyana Dharmasūtra* I-1-2-10.

east and *Vinasana* or the plains at *Ad-badri* where the river *Sarasvatī* disappears on the west.¹ The eastern country referred to by him may denote the countries situated south-east of the *Sarāvati* and may consist of the Kasi, Kosala, Vidarbha and Magadha² and the northern country may denote those situated north-west thereof.³ The *Sarāvati* is identified by Wilford with *Bāngāṅga* which passes through the district of Budaon in Rohilkund.⁴ In *Madhyadēśa*, he may have lived as near *Vipāśa* or the Beas as possible as he enjoins the *pratyaya अत्र* to the names of the wells north of her.⁵ Most of the countries like *Kuru*, *Pāncāla* and cities like *Uśinara* mentioned by him in the *sūtras* are nearer *madhyadēśa* than the eastern and northern countries though some are nearer the northern country. The names of most of the characters found in the *Mahābhārata* are mentioned in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*⁶ and the place of accent in the word महाभारत is stated in the *sūtra* महान् वीहि...भारत...मवृद्धेतु (VI-2-38). *Kāusāmbī*, the birth-place of *Kātyāyana*, the *Vārttikakāra* and *Prayāg*, the abode of the sage *Bharadvāja* and probably of the *Vārttikakāras* who went by the name of *Bhāradvājīyas* are in the *Madhyadēśa*, the probable abode of the *Sūtrakāra*. It has already been said that *Śūlātura* was the residence of his forefathers and he seems to have

1 हिमवादिन्यवार्षिण्यं यत्प्राचिनतश्चादीपः ।

प्रलम्बेव प्रयागाच्च मध्यदेशः प्रकोतितः ॥ (Mann. II-21)

2 योक्तोऽयं भारतं वर्यं शतवर्यास्तु योऽत्येः ।

देशः प्रामदक्षिणः प्रात्यः उदीच्यः पद्मिमोत्तरः ॥ (Amarakośa)

3 & 4 Geographical Dictionary by N. L. Dey.

5 उद्दक न विषाहः

6 ... अस्वेऽम्बालेऽस्मिक्ते (VI-1-118), वानुदेशार्जुनान्यां चुन (IV-3-98), भीमादयो-
अपदाने (II-4-74), ओणपर्वत ... (IV-1-103), उश्त्रादिभ्यो ष्टः (IV-1-172),
सालवेशान्धारिन्यां च (IV-1-169), पारशर्वचिललिभ्यां भिषुनस्मृक्योः (4-3-110).

some knowledge of the places from Śolarūra to Madhyadisa at least the places mentioned by him—Takṣasila,¹ Bāhika,² Kākāya,³ Trigarta⁴ Parvata⁵ etc.

IS PĀṇINI'S ASHTĀDHYĀYI A COMPILATION
OR AN ORIGINAL WORK?

"Pāṇini was not the *inventor* of the Grammatical system preserved in his work, though he improved the system of his predecessors, made his own additions to it . . . He availed himself of the technical terms of the older grammarians."⁶

"Pāṇini got handed down to him as *Upadeśa* from his ācāryas a book of *sūtras* which conformed to the *paribhāṣās* now found in the *Aṣṭd.*, with the *Dhātupāṭha* and the *gaya-pāṭha* as companion volumes to that book of *sūtras*. The book of *sūtras*, Pāṇini found, was incomplete and inadequate as a manual of Sanskrit grammar. So he proceeded to enlarge it mainly by incorporating with it *sūtras* borrowed from grammatical works belonging to schools of grammar other than his own; . . . by framing, wherever necessary, fresh *sūtras* of his own and adding them to it"; "In the *Aṣṭd.* itself only those *sūtras* can be definitely ascribed to Pāṇini which, though they do not go against the *Paribhāṣās* found in the *Aṣṭd.*, yet can be shown to be additions by Pāṇini by the three tests of *māṇḍukapṛuli*, the चानुष्टुप्योन्नरवात्-कृतिः and the purposeless *yogavibhāga*. Such *sūtras* form only a

1 सिन्धुताप्तिलादिभ्यो णक्ते (IV-3-03).

2 वाह्यक्षयमेन्द्रपत्न (IV-2-117).

3 कल्पमित्रसुपल्लवाना वादिरेयः (VII-3-2).

4 भगवत् वैगते (IV-1-111).

5 The word *Parvata* in the *sūtras* जानुवज्जीविन्द्रिष्ठः (IV-3-91) एवं पर्वताः (IV-2-143) may refer to the country. (*Geographical Dictionary* by N. L. Dey.)

6 *Pāṇini and his place in Literature* by T. Goldstucker p. 88.

7 The structure of the *Aṣṭādhayī* by I. S. Pawate p. 114.

negligible minority in the *Aṣṭad.* Then why call the *Aṣṭad.* system of grammar the *Pāṇiniyā* at all? Why? Because—
answer *Patañjali* and *Umaṇa* and *Jayādīya*—it is पाणिनिना प्रोक्तम्, न तु कृतम्—*Paspāśā* तेन प्रोक्तम् IV-III-101 . . . यत्तेज प्रोक्तम् त च तेन कृतम्.”¹

Pawate took पाणिनिना प्रोक्तम् पाणिनीयम् found in *Paspāśā* along with the *bhāṣya* under the *sūtra* तेन प्रोक्तम् and came to the conclusion that *Pāṇini* is more a *Pravaktrī*² than the author of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. But, *Patañjali* has conclusively proved from the use of the words प्रणयति स, प्रयुक्ते, करोति, कियन्ते, हन्ति, कर्ता, पठितम्, शास्ति, आह etc. in the following quotations that *Pāṇini* is not a mere *Pravaktrī* but also the author, अमाणमूर्त आचार्यो दर्भपवित्रपाणिः गुच्छकाशे पाढ्मुख उपविद्य महता प्रयत्नस सूत्राणि प्रणयति स (M.-B. under वृद्धिशब्देच 1-1-1).

भास्कलिक आचार्यो महतः शास्त्रौघस्य मङ्गलार्थं त्रुदिशब्दसारितः प्रगुह्ये (*id*).

प्रस्तुति त्वाचार्यः—‘आदेशो यः सकारात्म्य वत्वम्’ इति.—ततो अधिग्रहणं करोति (*ibid* under आदेशप्रत्ययोः VII-3-59).

देहयाः सूत्रतिवच्छाः कियन्ते (*ibid* under अतिशायने तमविष्टनौ V-3-56).

शोभना खलु पाणिनेः सूत्रस्य हन्ति: (*ibid* under उभयप्राप्तौ कर्मणि II-3-66).

य एव तस्य समयस्य कर्ता स पवेदमप्याह (*ibid* under वासरूपोऽस्तिथाम् III-1-94)

आचार्येण सूत्रं पठिते पञ्चाणि च निर्देशः कृतः (*ibid* under . . . व्यज्ञोत्रं IV-L-78).

आचार्येण सूत्रं पठितम् (*ibid* under V-1-115).

1 *ibid.* pp. 118-119.

2 *ibid* p. 123.

3 न. केवला प्रकृतिः प्रोक्तम् त च केवलः प्रत्ययः

यद्यप्ताणादिभ्यो यते शास्ति (M. B. under ब्रह्मणमाणवद्यावाचन, IV-2-42).

पश्यति त्वाचार्यः— न द्विशब्दं आदेशो भवति — इति, तत्त्वस्य परमाञ्छिदितमनुदात्तं लेखाह (ibid under सर्वेष्यदे VIII-1-1)

The statement “*Pāṇini* got handed down as *upadīsa* from his *ācāryas* a book of “*sūtras*” is quite contrary to the statement of the author of the *Kāśikā* “विनोपदेशेन ज्ञातमुपदाते, स्वयमभिसंखडमित्यर्थः. पाणिनिलोपदाते पाणिनीयमकालके व्याकरणम्” under the *sūtra* उपज्ञाते (IV-3-115).

Besides *Patañjali* clearly states that *Vyākarnam* is not *aitiṣu* as *chandō-brāhmaṇāni*.

(cf. अन्यचाभिधेयमनित्यं भवति) पाणिनीयमिति वा पाणिनीया इति वा (M. B. under छन्दोग्ग्राहणानि च तद्विषयाणि IV-2-66).

न हि उन्दांसि कियन्ते, नित्यानि उन्दांसि (ibid under तेन प्रेक्षम् IV-3-10L.)

In about 4000 *sūtras* of *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, *Pāṇini* mentions the names of seers who held different views in 19 *sūtras*,¹ the name of *ācāryas* in general in two *sūtras*, *śk* in one *sūtra*, *sarvē* in one *sūtra*, *prācām* and *udicām* in about 20 *sūtras*. Besides, the *sūtras* जनपदं लुप् (IV-2-81), घरणादिभ्यद्वच (IV-2-82), लुपि शुक्लवद्विकिवचने (I-2-51),² औष आपः (VII-1-18),³ आहि चापः (VII-3-105)⁴ and आहो नास्तियाम् (VII-3-120) are considered to be the *sūtras* of his predecessors. Thus only about fifty *sūtras* deal with the opinion of others.

Hence it seems that *Aṣṭādhyāyī* should be taken only as an original contribution of *Pāṇini* to the grammatical literature and not a compilation of the *sūtras* of previous

1 जाकल्पः—४; जाकटावनः—३; गालतः, गाम्यः, आचार्यः; each 2; स्वमपः, स्वोठामः; जाकर्वणः, भरदावः, जापेशालः, सेनकः; each 1;

2 ल्यकिवचने इति च लिङ्गमङ्गलयोः पर्वानाम्यनेदेशः। तदौपमेवदं सत्रम् (काशिल)

3 पूर्वमूलनिर्देशोऽयं, पूर्वस्त्रेषु च गेऽनुवन्नः न तैरिहत्तर्वाणि किमन्ते (महाभाष्यम्)

4 आविति पूर्वानाम्यनेदेशेन तृतीयवक्तव्ये गृह्णते (काशिल)

authors, though he made use of *samjñās* of his predecessors, and adopted their method as in the use of त् etc.

Pawate considers that जनपदे लुप्त, वरणादिभ्यवत्, लुप्ति वुक्तवृच्छिकचत्रे, are the *sūtras* of *pūrvacāryas* and they are refuted by Pāṇini in the *sūtras* तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् and लुप्तेनाप्रत्यानात् and औङ आपः, आडो नालियाम्, आडि चापः were incorporated by Pāṇini from previous authors.

Barend Faddegon thinks that the five *sūtras* beginning with तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् (I-2-53) are interpolations. "The interpolation consisted originally in *sūtra* 53, an antagonistic opinion current in the old grammarian schools and well explained and refuted by Patanjali. Its insertion after I-2-52 is due to the artificial term *lup* used in *sūtra* 1-2-51. Afterwards the term *samjñā* was misunderstood and a long series of objections were interpolated by schoolmasters who did not understand the worth of Pāṇini's researches."

Faddegon's theory mostly rests on the interpretation of the sentence कि या पता: कृत्रिमाशिष्यभाविसंज्ञा: तत्प्राप्तादशिष्यम्; खेत्याहः संज्ञानं संज्ञा found in the *Mahābhāṣya* under तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात्. Both the author of the *Kāśikā* and Faddegon have taken the sentence कि या पता: कृत्रिमाशिष्यभाविसंज्ञा: तत्प्राप्तादशिष्यम् to be the statement of *pūrvapakṣin*. But the former holds the view that the *pūrvapakṣin* without correctly understanding what तद् in तदशिष्यं stands for and mistaking that it refers to the *samjñās* created by Pāṇini asked whether *ti*, *gho*, *bha* etc. need not be mentioned and the *siddhāntin* replies that it was not so since the word संज्ञा in संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् refers only to those *samjñās* whose meaning can be well understood. There are many instances in the *Mahābhāṣya* wherein questions are put by *pūrvapakṣin*.

1 The structure of the *Aṣṭadhyayi* (pp. 110-114.)

2 Studies on Pāṇini's grammar by Barend Faddegon (pp. 57-59.)

without understanding the correct meaning. Besides he seems to have taken संज्ञा to mean संज्ञान; but संज्ञा (in the *sūtra*) means that through which correct denotation is produced and hence it is said संज्ञाशब्दा हि नानालिङ्गसङ्क्षयाः. Faddegon thinks that the interpretations of *Patañjali* and the author of the *Kāśikā* on संज्ञाते संज्ञा are different. Since the *Vārtikakāra* himself says पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशो वापिशलभवते इति under the *sūtra* अनुपसर्जनात् (IV-1-14) and the *Mahābhāsyakāra* says पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशोऽयं under औड आपः (VII-1-18) पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशत्वं under अहोऽदन्तात् (VIII-4-7), it is quite possible that *Pāṇini* may have incorporated some *sūtras* of the previous authors like *Āpiśoli* and *Kiśakṛtsna* whose works are definitely understood from the *Mahābhāṣya* to have preceded *Pāṇini's*.

WAS PĀṄINI THE AUTHOR OF THE GANĀPĀTHA OR NOT?

Pawate says that 'it seems that the whole of the *Ganapātha* and consequently the *sūtras* for which the various *ganas* were written are pre-*Pāṇinian*' and ''*Pāṇini* received the whole of the *Ganapātha* from his predecessors as उपदेश'.' The arguments that he adduces thereto are that, according to the प्राचीनकारिका

धातुसूत्रगणोणादिवाक्यलिङ्गानुशासनम् ।
आगमप्रत्ययादेशा दपदेशाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

upadeśa includes the *ganapātha*, and *Nāgōjibhāṣya* states 'उपदेश इत्युक्ते शुद्धकर्तृकतायाः स्वरसतः प्रतीतेः'¹ and ''*Kātyāyana* held that the *Ganapātha* preceded the *Sūtrapātha*'² and the statement

1. पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशो वापिशलभवते काण्डवृत्तिना ग्रीष्मा भीमांसा तथा चापिशलेविषि- *Vārtihika* under IV-1-14.)
2. The structure of the *Aṣṭadhyayī* pp. 86 and 87.
3. *Uddyoga* under शुद्धसमाप्तार्थ उपदेशः in *Puspāti* in *Mahābhāṣya*,
4. The structure of the *Aṣṭadhyayī* pp. 86-88.

in the *Mahābhāṣya* "इदं तर्हे प्रयोजने, व्यादिपूर्युदासेन पर्युदासो मा स्मृतिः" which suggests that there were two ways of reading सर्वादिगण.

In the *kārikā* there is mention of सूत्र also and the expression of *Nāgojībhāṣṭa* ल्लभस्तः प्रतीतिः suggests that the word उपर्युदा has more meanings than one and *Patañjali* himself gives two meanings to it प्रत्यक्षमारव्यान्मुष्पदेशः and गुणैः ग्राम्य-मुष्पदेशः under the *sūtra* उपर्युदोऽजनुनाभिक इति (I-3-2). Two ways of reading सर्वादिगण might have existed at the time of *Patañjali*, of which one was generally preferred. There are certain definite statements in the *Mahābhāṣya* which suggest that the framework of the *gaṇapāṭha* was the work of *Pāṇini* and it was further amplified by later authors.

1. अवरादीनां च पुनः स्त्रपाठे व्रहणानर्थक्यं गणे पठितत्वात् (*Vārttika* under I-1-34). The word पुनः is appropriate only if both the *Sūtrapāṭha* and *gaṇapāṭha* are the works of the same author.

2. (a) यदयं अवनशब्दं गौरादिषु पठति (M. B. under विश्वतिष्येष्ये परं कार्यम् I-4-2)

(b) यदयं कस्कादिषु आतुष्पुचशब्दं पठति (*ibid* under इदुपधस्य चाप्रत्ययस्य III-1-41)

(c) यत् सवनादिषु - अश्वसनिश्चादं पठति (*ibid* under VIII-3-110.)

The word पठति as the predicate of आचार्य which refers to *Pāṇini* clearly tells us that, in the opinion of *Patañjali* गौरादिगण, कस्कादिगण and सवनादिगण are the work of *Pāṇini*.

3. (a) पञ्चमव्याघे वृत्तिषातः ग्रामोति ; राजदन्तादिषु पाठः करिष्यते (M. B. under V-4-7)

(b) नासिक्यो वर्ण इति परिमुखादिषु पाठः करिष्यते, नासिक्यं नगरमिति सहाशादिषु पाठः करिष्यते (*ibid* under VI-1-63)

(c) यचादिषु पाठः करिष्यते (*ibid* under VIII-2-12)

(d) युवादिषु पाठः करित्यते (M. B. under VIII-4-7)
 (e) कथं चटका मूणिकेति? अजादिषु पाठः कर्तव्यः (*ibid* under IV-1-63)

The expressions पाठः करित्यते and पाठः कर्तव्यः clearly tell us that the *Ganapāṭha* was amplified by *Mahābhasyakāra*.

4. (a) अधिकरणे शेते: पार्वादिष्पत्तद्वयानम् (*Vārtikā* under III-2-16).

(b) चाचि च चिन्दे: संहायामुपस्थृत्यानम् (M.B. under III-I-138).
 The word उपस्थृत्यानम् suggests that the *Ganapāṭha* was supplemented by *Vāritikakāra*.

5. The inclusion of व्याहि in कौञ्जादि is a clear indication that the *Ganapāṭha* received additions later on.

6. Some *gāyas* were created later on:

Cf. कम्बोजादिभ्यो लुभवचने चोडावर्यम् (*Vārtikā* under कम्बोजाल्लुक IV-1-175.)

चोडावर्यम्—चोडः, कंडरः, केरलः, (M. B. under *id.*)

Pāṇini should be credited with the authorship of the framework of *Ganapāṭha*, which was amplified later in several ways. The process of amplification may be said to have reached its *acme* in the well-known device of the *ākṛti-gana* fiction.

WAS PĀṄINI THE AUTHOR OF THE DHĀTUPĀṭHA OR NOT?

"The ground-work of the only *Dhatupatha* we now possess is, like the ground-work of the *Unyādi* list, the work of *Panini*".¹ "This list makes use of the same mute letters which are the *anubandhas* of *Pāṇini's* grammar, and their

1. *Pāṇini—His place in Sanskrit Literature* by T. Goldstucker p. 141

grammatical value is exactly the same in both works¹. This statement of Goldstucker should be true, since Pāṇini limits the number of roots which undergo a particular modification as द्वितीयधार्मो विनुष् (III-2-141), फौ च सप्तनाम् (VI-4-125) चक्र एवत्यः (VII-3-98). Patañjali himself states that the Dhātupāṭha should have been a work separate from the Ashtadhyāyī and it should be the work of Pāṇini.² The meanings given to roots in the Dhātupāṭha is considered by Kāiyata to be non-Pāṇinian and is held to be the work of Bhīmasēna by Nāgājibhāṭṭa.³ Patañjali shows that some portion of the Dhātupāṭha was lost before him.⁴ Kāiyata shows that the Dhātupāṭha was amplified later by the Vārtikakāra and Mahābhāṣyakāra.⁵

Pawate says, "The various schools of Sanskrit grammar seem to have had their own separate *Dhatupathas* . . . The Paninians themselves had their *Dhatupatha* in more than one version . . . But at present we have only one version of the Paninian *Dhatupatha* and the other seems to have been irrecoverably lost . . . The author of the *Ashtadhyayī* is not the author of the Dh. P . . . The Dh. P. seems to be the work of a predecessor of *Panini*. But nevertheless the arrangement of roots in the Dh. P. clearly shows that the author of the

1 *Ibid.* p. 140.

2 तत्त्वाभ्यर्थाचार्यः 'अस्मि न पाठे वाचश्च सूत्रात्' इति (M. B. under *Sutra* मूलदण्डो वातवः 1-3-1).

3 तथानालयकाः वाचाचार्येण स्वारितस्मितः पठिताः (M. B. under 1-3-72).
उ न चार्यपाठः परिलेखकः तथापाठेणानामूलात् (Kāiyata under the same *sūtra*;
भासमेसेनेश्वरैतित्यम् (*Uddyota*)).

4 के पुनः वोपेद्वा चातवः! पठितव्याः (M. B. under चातवोः एः सः VI-1-64).
के पुनर्गोपेद्वा चातवः! पठितव्याः (M. B. under ओ नः VI-1-65).
पठितव्यसम्बन्धात्मकः (Kāiyata under चातवोः एः सः))

5 तत्त्वार्थिकमात्यनेषु ये पठन्ते तेऽपि त्यज्यरादिआमास्यादातुत्वनाथ्यगोचः (Pradipta under मूलदण्डो वातवः 1-3-1).

Dh. P. knew very many *sūtras* now found in the *Aṣṭad.* and so arranged the roots in the Dh. P. as to serve the purposes of those *sūtras*". . . .

WAS PĀṇINI THE AUTHOR OF UṇĀDÌ OR NOT?

T. Goldstucker says, "All the *Uṇādī* affixes have *anubandhas* which are exactly the same and have the same grammatical effect as those used by *Pāṇini*. They cannot be later than this work, for it refers to them: they cannot have preceded it, for *Patañjali* says that "whatever *anubandhas* occur in a *sūtra* of a former grammarian, they have no *anubandha* effect in *Pāṇini's work*". Consequently the *Uṇādī* list must be of *Pāṇini's* own authorship. This conclusion is based on the interpretation that इह in the sentence पूर्वसंकेतु च ये चनुवन्धा न तेरिहेत्कार्याणि कियन्ते (M. B. under ओऽत्र वाप: VII-1-18) means *Pāṇini's* grammar. Can it not be interpreted to mean the *sūtras* in which such *anubandhas* have no *anubandha* effect? Besides the statement of *Kātyāyaṇa* उणादय इत्येच सूचनाणां शास्त्रान्तरप्रतिनामि लाभुत्वाभ्यनुज्ञानार्थमस्तु इति भावः under ४. उणादयो वहुलम् (III-3-1) and *Nāgējibhāṭṭa*'s statement एव च लवोपत्याद्युपादि-सूचाणि शाकटायनस्येति सूचितम् under the same *sūtra* suggest that, according to *Kātyāyaṇa*, *Uṇādī* is the work of another grammarian and according to *Nāgējibhāṭṭa* it is the work of *Śākotīyana*. But T. Goldstucker says that, "since *Nāgējī*'s conjecture is purely personal, and is not supported by any evidence, I may be allowed, after the explanation I have given, to assume that the *Uṇādī* list is of *Pāṇini's* authorship."

WAS PĀṇINI AWARE OF THE EXISTENCE OF ATHARVAVĒDA?

T. Goldstucker argues that *Pāṇini* did not have a knowledge of the *Atharvavēda* since *Pāṇini's sūtras* did not

1 The Structure of the *Aṣṭadhyayī* by I. S. Pawate pp. 3-31.

2 शास्त्रान्तरे — अक्षरणान्तरे (*Uddiyota*)

— speak of either the compound *Atharvāṅgirasa* or its derivative *Atharvāṅgīṣṭa* though he mentions the names *Āṅgiras* in II-4-65 and *ātharvanika* in (IV-3-133) and (VI-4-174) and though *Patañjali* mentions आथर्वणो मन्त्रः and आथर्वेण आचार्यः under IV-3-133. Do the words अथर्वेन् and आथर्वेण found in the *guna* under IV-2-63 mean only a literary work? Since *Atharrasāda* was named not only अथर्वाङ्गिस्तः but also आथर्वेण and since the latter is mentioned in the *Chāndogyāpanīṣad* which is not considered later than *Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya*, and since the word आचार्य generally denotes *Veda* in Sanskrit Literature, the statement आथर्वेण आचार्यः must be understood to mean अथर्ववेद. Besides, when *Patañjali* at the beginning of the *Mahābhāṣya* has stated that *Pāṇini* deals with both *Vāidika* and *lāukika* words, he quotes four *Vedic* texts to represent four *Vidas*. शत्रो देवीरभिष्ट्ये is the text he quotes to represent the *Atharvaveda*. He refers to the same on three more occasions :—

ओ इस्युक्त्वा वृत्तालःः शमित्येवमादीन् शब्दान् पठति. (M. B.
Pāṇḍita.)

शत्रोदेवीर्यकमधीय (M. B. under I-3-2).

शत्रोदेवीर्य संहितयाचीप्य (ibid under I-4-110).

The words अथर्वेन् and आथर्वेण cannot be said to mean only a *non-vedic* literary work since the other words in the group वसन्त, शीम, चर्पा, शंख, शनैः ... are all taken by *Patañjali* to mean the study of *Veda* in *vasanta* etc., and the context favours the view that the expression आथर्वेण आचार्यः refers to the *Vālin* whose seer is *Atharva*.

1 Cf. वसन्तेभ्यो अपातेक्ष्माजुष्यस्मादपात्मनः चतुर्थस्मादपाक्षयन्। सामानि वसा लोमान्य-
वर्णाङ्गिरसो मुखे स्त्रम्भन्ते गृहे कलम् खिरेव सः A. V. X-7-20.

2 Cf. नक्षत्रेण नग्नोऽन्येनि यज्ञोदेव नामवेदमावर्णेण चतुर्थम् (*Chāndogyāpanīṣad* VII-1).

3 वसन्तसहस्रादिनमध्यवस्थे वसन्तः आचार्यनम् (M. B. under IV-2-63.)

P. Thieme tells us that the word पूलयति in S. III-2-51 suggests that Pāṇini is conversant with Atharvavida since पूलयीत् is found in A. V. 6-16-3.¹ Patanjali, also in his statement, सर्ववेदग्रन्थिपदे हीदं शास्त्रम् under तत्त्वुल्यं कृति चहूलम् (VI-3-14) and under पूर्वोपर... (II-1-58), Kātyāyaṇa through his commentary सर्ववेदसाधारणेनानेन शास्त्रानां प्रतिपादनं किमप्ते and Nāgōjibhāṭṭa in his gloss इदन्तु सर्वेषां वैदिकानां लौकिकानाऽन्य दान्वानामनुशासनम् suggests that Pāṇini knew Atharvavida-samhitā.

PĀṇINI'S KNOWLEDGE OF THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE VEDAS INTO MANTRA AND BRAHMANA AND THE EXISTENCE OF KALPASUTRAS ETC

The mention of the word मन्त्रे in the *sūtras* II-4-80, III-2-71, III-3-96, VI-3-131 and VI-4-141 and of the words ब्राह्मण and कल्प in the *sūtra* पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु (IV-3-105) suggests that Pāṇini was aware of the classification of the *Vedas* into *mantrabhāga* and *brahmaṇabhāga*. Besides, the word पुराण suggests that some *brahmaṇas* and *kalpas* were considered to be ancient and some to be recent. Kāśikī gives भास्त्रविनः, शास्त्रविनिनः, ऐतरेयिणः, गैत्री, आत्मपराजी for the former and याज्ञवल्क्यनि and अश्मरथः for the latter. From this it is evident that the author of the Kāśikī considered Pāṇini, Yājñavalkya, Āśmarathya to be contemporaries or the last two lived a few years before him. याज्ञवल्क्यादिभ्यः प्रतिपेष्वस्तुत्य-कालत्वात् (*Vārttika*) suggests that, in the opinion of Kātyāyana, Yājñavalkya was contemporary of Pāṇini. From the statement in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* जनमेजयस्यापि शतानीको भविष्यति । योऽसौ याज्ञवल्क्यादेवमर्थीत्य कृपादचाण्डवाप्त... शौनकोपदेशात् आत्मज्ञान-प्रवीणः ... it is clear that शतानीक याज्ञवल्क्य, शौनक and कृप ए

¹ *Pāṇini and the Veda* by P. Thieme p. 64.

² The *Vārttika* is interpreted in two ways.—The author of Kāśikī, Bhāṭṭājīlakṣita etc. consider Yājñavalkya to be an ascetic and Nāgōjibhāṭṭa etc. considered him to be a prācīnī.

contemporaries. It may therefore be inferred that Pāṇini could have known Śatapatha brāhmaṇa. If so, he should have known Śukla-guṇḍīdasaṁhitā. But P. Thieme says that Goldstucker was right in saying that Pāṇini did not draw upon the white Yajurveda. The sūtra उच्चाराक्रियकथाहित-वहुवर्तनाम्बूद्धि (IV-3-129) explaining the formation of छान्दोग्य, वाचूच्च tells us that Pāṇini was aware of the Chāndogya-purāṇa and the brāhmaṇas of the Rgveda. The sūtra लिङ्गवत्सारिणितोर्ब्रह्मणे नेत्रयो उष्ण (V-1-62) may refer to कौरीतको-वल्लभः and ऐस्त्रेववाल्लभः since they have 30 and 40 adhyāyas respectively. ऐस्त्रेववाल्लभः originated at the country between Kuru and Pāṇḍu and it has already been shown that Pāṇini lived in the Mathyadvāsa. It is quite possible he was quite familiar with all the details relating to these Brāhmaṇa texts, such as the number of adhyāyas they contained.

The sūtras मत्करमस्तुरिणी वैष्णवरित्राजकयोः (VI-1-154) and पराशर्येतिलालिभ्यां भिस्मुनदस्त्रयोः (IV-3-110) suggest that the fourth āśrama was recognised before him and there was a book of sūtras dealing with things concerning sannyāsins. It is worth considering whether the Bhikṣusūtra refers to Vidyāntasūtras since its author is said to be Pārāśarya here and the adhikārin to study it is generally considered to be sannyāsins. Since Śāṅkara is said to be the author of Naṭasūtra, nāṭya-

¹ Pāṇini and the Veda by P. Thieme p. 74.

² Note that कौरीतकः is suggested in the sūtra लिङ्गवत्सारिणितोर्ब्रह्मणे (IV-1-124.) and Cf. It is really impossible to doubt that V-1-62 with its reference to Brāhmaṇas of 30 and 40 chapters refers to the Kāsiṣṭaki and Aśvāya Brāhmaṇas... It would therefore be wholly impossible to rule out knowledge by Pāṇini of other Brāhmaṇas merely because he fails to note striking forms therein found. How much of our Vedic literature did Pāṇini use? There is no doubt regarding the R. V. E. S., M. S., T. S. and A. V. Pāṇini and the Veda by A. B. Keith (Indian Culture Vol. II, p. 737).

should then have been in a developed state. The mention of the word चरण in the *sūtras* चरणम्बो वर्मवत् (IV-2-46), मोत्तचरणाद्वन् (IV-3-126) and चरणे ग्रहवाचिणि (VI-3-86) and the mention of तिनिरि, कठ, कलपि etc. in the *sūtras* where तेज प्रोक्षन् has the *auvritti*, clearly suggest that each *Vēda* had more than one *sākhā* in his time. The *sūtra* अध्यायेवेदैः IV-3-69 tells us that *Vēdas* were divided into chapters and they were named after their authors. The word उपयोग in the *sūtra* आश्यातोपयोगे I-4-29 and its interpretation by *Pāṇini* as नियमपूर्वकाश्ययनम् suggests that *Vēdos* were studied with नियम unlike *kāvyas*, works on *nātya* etc.¹

The *sūtras* नित्यं हस्ते पाणाङ्गुपयमने (I-4-77), सातपदीनं सत्यम् (V-2-22) suggest that the important details of the marriage ceremony were the same in *Pāṇini*'s time as they are now. आखे शरदः (IV-3-12) suggests that there were *śrāddhas* enjoined in his time. The word दायाद् in II-3-39 suggests that there was partition of parental property. The *sūtras* ग्रहकर्मण्यजपन्युज्ञासमसु (I-2-34), न सुव्रज्ञाप्यायां स्वरितस्य तुदातः (I-2-37), यहे समि स्तुवः (III-3-31) etc. clearly show that most of the details of यज्ञः also were the same in his time as they are now.

From the points noted above it follows that there were *Śrauta*, *Gṛhya*, and *Dharma sūtras* before *Pāṇini*'s time.

The *sūtras* आनुवंशीविभ्यश्चः पर्वते (IV-3-91), ब्राह्मणकोणिके संस्कारम् (V-2-71) tell us that a section of *brāhmaṇas* in the *Parvata* country lived on weapons.

Batkrishna Ghosh says, " *Pragṛhya sūtras* of *Pāṇini*, *Pāṇini* must have been directly copying from the *Rk Pratiśakhyā*"².

1. उपयोगः के भवितुमहन्ति ! यो नियमपूर्वकः । तथा उपयुक्त भाषणका इत्युच्चन्ते, य एले नियमपूर्वकमधृतवन्तो भवान्ते । उपयोग इति किमर्यम् ! न इत्य युपोति प्रान्तिकरण श्वरोति (M. R. under I-4-29).

2. Thieme und *Pāṇini* (Indian Culture Vol. IV p. 399)

The words नान्दी, लिपि in III-2-21, शिल्पिनि in III-2-55, श्लोक in III-1-25 and III-2-23 and सूत्र in III-2-23 and IV-2-65 suggest that writing, architecture, the *sūtra* form of the composition and the designation of श्लोक to verses were known in his time. The word भाषायां in *sūtras* like VIII-2-98 and the word छन्दसि in *sūtras* like III-3-129 suggest that Sanskrit was a spoken language in his time and it began to differ from the Sanskrit used in the *Vedas*. The *sūtras* उपमानानि सामान्यवचनैः (II-1-55) उपमितं व्याकादिपिः सामान्याप्रयोगे (II-1-56) कर्त्तरि उपमाने (III-2-79) show that the figure of speech उपमा was then known and the word उपमा was also used in the sense of *equal* as is inferred from the *sūtra* तुल्यार्थरतुलोपमाभ्यां तृतीयान्यतत्त्वाम् (II-3-72). The *sūtra* दक्षिणापश्चान्पुरात्स्वस्त्वः (IV-2-98) tells us that the words दक्षिणात्यः, पश्चात्यः and पौरस्त्वः were in use in his time. Originally they may have meant one belonging to the southern country, one belonging to the western and one belonging to the eastern. This may perhaps suggest that *Pāṇini* was in the *madhyadeśa* and referred to people south, west and east of it.

The *sūtra* यस्कादिभ्यो गोत्रे (II-4-63) refers to *Yāska*. T. Goldstucker thinks that he is anterior to *Pāṇini*.¹ Since it is only a *taddhītāna* name, it is better to come to a definite conclusion on the point on the strength of another positive evidence.

1 Under the *sūtra* पश्च विशेषपतिः दक्षिणस्त्वयोत्ततः I-1-2-1 of *Baudhāyana*, the commentator writes शक्तिपेन नमंवासुतरेण कन्यातोर्धम् उत्तरस्तु शक्तिपेन हिमवत्तमुद्दिवनव्यस्ते. *Vātsyāyana* uses the word दक्षिणाल्यानाम् in *sūtras* II-4-10, II-6-40, II-7-23 etc. Hence the word दक्षिणातः may originally have meant man of the south and later on may have been restricted to mean the inhabitant of the Deccan. (Cf. Apte's Dictionary)

2 *Pāṇini - His place in Sanskrit Literature* p. 171.

THE PLAN THE PRINCIPLE OF COMPOSITION ETC.
IN THE ASTĀDHYĀVI.

Faddegon in his studies on *Pāṇini's* grammar writes:—
The first five chapters deal with the theory of the ultimate components of language or the analytical part of grammar, the sixth and the seventh chapters with the theory of word coalescence and vocalic sandhi in general and the eight with the theory of sentence—coalescence and of consonantal sandhi in general.'

The main principles of *Pāṇini's* forms of literary composition are mnemotechnical economy, logical division and associative digression,¹ and the subsidiary forms of composition and arrangement are (1) *pūrvatāsiddhātva*, (2) distinctive insertion like the definitions of *samhitā* and *ansāna* at the end of adhy. 1, pā. 4, (3) oratorical division like announcing in the last *sūtra* of a *pāda* and the subject of the following *pāda* or giving at the beginning of a *pāda* a few additions to the foregoing para and insertion by emergency. A fact of peculiar interest in *Pāṇini's* composition is the tendency towards dichotomy in the main divisions of his work.² The indeclinables (avyayas) are enumerated by *Pāṇini* in I-1-37-41 and I-4-56-94, the former being based on etymology and the latter on function.³ The term *nipāta* is used in its wide significance to include all the indeclinables with a relational meaning (conjunctions, model adverbs, close adverbs to finite verbs, prefixes to deverbal nouns and indeclinables, close adverbs which have developed into free adverbs, prepositions) and in a narrow significance to denote only conjunctions and model adverbs. This distinction of a wide and narrow significance appears to be a kind of logical

¹ Studies on *Pāṇini's* Grammar by B. Faddegon pp. 51—53.

² *Ibid* p. 49.

³ *Ibid* pp. 60—51.

⁴ *Ibid* pp. 7—8.

artfulness chosen for the sake of brevity. The word क्रियायेन is used in the sense 'in connection with the *notion of an action either expressed or implied*' from the use of *upasarga* in V-4-119, VI-2-177 and VI-3-97 and not in the sense 'in connection with a word expressing an action, either a finite verb or a deverbiative.' The terms कर्मवचनीयः and कर्मधात्रः might have been due to the influence of the older schools since the word कर्म in both is not used in the same sense as that in कर्तुरीनितततम् कर्म.

What strikes us then ... is the trustworthiness of Pāṇini, his power of observation, his love of language, his deep intellectual and emotional understanding. The worth of Pāṇini's work for us is not in its linguistic information, however valuable many a detail may be, but in its fitness as a training for our understanding the Indian method of composition and specially as a scientific work it offers in this respect great advantages. The more one studies the *Aṣṭādhyayī*, the more one realises the depth and correctness of the characterisation given by Speyer of this work that it is a well-planned and not only virtuosic but also ingenuous text-book.¹

"I adore Pāṇini because he reveals to us the spirit of India".²

HIS OTHER WORK.

Pāṇini is the author of *Pāñlavijayam* or *Jāmbavatī-vijayam* also.

1 *Ibid* pp. 15 and 16.

2 *Ibid* p. 17.

3 *Ibid* p. 47. 4 *Ibid* p. 48. 5. *Ibid* p. 36. 6 *Ibid* p. 4.

7 Cf. New verse of Pāṇini by Krishnadeva Upādhyāya (Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. XIII.)

Kātyāyana - Varacuci was very prominent among a large number of seers *Bhāradvājīyas*, *Sāunāgus*, *Ślākavārttikakārū*, etc. who wrote *Vārtikas* on Pāṇini's grammar. *Kātyāyana's Vārtikas* are generally prose, though some of them are verses.¹ *Patañjali* mentions the names of other grammarians like *Vārsyāyani*,² the propounder of the six *bhāvanikāras*, *Vādava* and refers to others in expressions like *apara*, *uparī*, *anyē*, *acāryas*, *kēcīt* etc.

RELATIONSHIP OF VĀRTIKAS TO PĀṄINI'S SŪTRAS.

Vārtika is defined thus by *Hēmacandra* :—

उक्तानुकाङ्क्षार्थचिन्ताकारि तु वार्त्तिकम्

This is translated by Prof. Goldstucker as under :— “The characteristic feature of a *Vārtika* is criticism in regard to that which is omitted or imperfectly expressed in a *sūtra*”³. Prof. F. Keilhorn, on a close study of the first nine *ādhikas*

1 M. B. under *sūtras* शापाच्चाप् (I-1-21), स्मानिषदादेषोऽनलिंघी (VI-56).

पृष्ठः कल्पा च (I-2-22), गेतरी ... (I-2-87) विभिन्नस्यः पूर्णी चह् (III-1-48)

त द्रुतस्तुनमो यक्षिणी (III-1-89), गोत्राच्चवात् (IV-1-79). भस्त्रो रापक्षोस्मन्तत-स्त्राम् (VI-4-47) etc.

2 M. B. under *sūtras* यज्ञाचाप् (IV-1-72), लंपुर्साम्बो ... (IV-1-87), ओमार्थिः (VI-1-95), फलपत्त्वं ... (VI-3-43) etc.

3⁴ *Bhavishyoti's Pradipaka* under अश्वरं नद्यरं निर्यात् etc. at the end of *Pratyāhārādhikas*. The *Vārtika*

स्नादितिष्ठिः पुरान्तो चत्वारिंशेण कि हते मत्तते।

न स्मपुरायतन इनि द्रुता कल्पाच्चेत्तेह ॥ under लट्ट स्मि & *Patañjali's* statement कि वार्तिककारः यत्तेषेष्वन क्लोति make us infer that this *Vārtika* may have been by Ślākavārttikakārū

4 प्रत्याहारेऽनुचन्त्राणा कथमप्रलोप्य न

आचारादपचानत्वालोपच वलवतः ॥ *Vārtika* under त्रिपराट

5 जायेन्द्रियं विपरिषमते बद्धतेऽप्सावते चिन्मनति (M. B. under भवाद्यो भातवः I-3-1)

6 वैयाक्षणवत्तेऽल्लिङ्गिः वात्प्रः पूर्णे (M. B. under वृहार्षेन इहौ VIII-2-106).

7 *Pāṇini* - his place in Sanskrit Literature p. 91.

of the *Mahābhāṣya* thinks that the *Vārtikas* consider whether anything has been omitted in the *sūtras* that should have been stated and whether there is in them anything that is superfluous, faulty or objectionable.¹ Prof. Goldstucker, consequently says that "Kātyāyana did not mean to justify and to defend the rules of Pāṇini, but to find fault with them" and that "Kātyāyana does not leave the impression of an admirer or friend of Pāṇini, but that of an *antagonist*, often too, of an unfair *antagonist*".² Prof. Keilhorn, on the other hand, tells us that "the object of the *Vārtikas* is then no other than this, without bias or prejudice to discuss such objections as might be raised to the rules of Pāṇini's grammar and on the one hand to justify Pāṇini by defending him against unfounded criticism and on the other hand to correct, reject, and add to, the rules laid down by him, where defence and justification were considered impossible".³ Prof. Keilhorn deserves our gratitude for having found out the real object of the *Vārtikas* and the attitude of Kātyāyana towards Pāṇini. From a study of all the 85 *āhnikas* of the *Mahābhāṣya* I see that, of about 1700 *sūtras* discussed there, about 450 have no *vārtikas*. Of the remaining 1250 *sūtras* more than 700 *sūtras* are beautifully explained by the *Vārtikakāra* without picking any hole in them. About ten *sūtras* are found by him to be not necessary. In the majority of the remaining 240 *sūtras* only additions and corrections or more correctly, changes in form and meaning are made. Since a long time should have elapsed between Pāṇini's time and Kātyāyana's time, it is just possible in the *spoken language* for words to have been changed both *morphologically* and

¹ *Kātyāyana and Patañjali* by F. Keilhorn p. 48.

² *Pāṇini: His place in Sanskrit Literature* p. 91.

³ *Kātyāyana and Patañjali* p. 48.

semantically and to have become obsolete. Hence the expression दुर्लक्षितन् may be appropriate from the standpoint of a *descriptive grammarian*, but is unsound from the standpoint of a *historical grammarian*. *Kātyāyana* shows himself a *historical grammarian* in having noticed such changes.

KĀTYĀYANA WAS LATER THAN PĀṇINI

The following *vṛttikas* clearly show the great regard *Kātyāyana* had towards *Pāṇini* :—

- (1) जाचायोचारात्मेशासिद्धिः (*Vṛttika* under वृद्धिरादैच 1.1.3)
- (2) भूवादीनां वृकारोऽयं महत्ताथ्यः प्रयुज्यते (*ibid* under भूवादयो चातयः 1.3.1).
- (3) नित्ये च यः शाकलभाक्तमात्मे ।
तदर्थमेतद्गग्नांशकार ॥ (*ibid* under इको यणचि VI.1.77).
- (4) वहुवीहिस्वरं शास्त्रं समासान्तविद्येः सुहृत् (*ibid* under वहुवौहौ... VI.2.1).
- (5) आतिपदिकविज्ञानाच्च पाणिनेः सिद्धम् (*ibid* under आथन ... VII.1.2),
- (6) सिद्धे तु तदुणसंविज्ञानात्पाणिनेयथा लोके (*ibid* under एकाचो द्वे प्रथमस्य VI.1.1).
- (7) एकरोपनिदेशाङ्गा स्वरभिदानां भगवतः पाणिनेः सिद्धम् (*ibid* under अ अ VIII.4.68).

The word सुहृत् and भगवान् used to refer to *Pāṇini* speak volumes. *Kātyāyana* seems to admire the service rendered by *Pāṇini* and the great traits of his character.

⁷ Cf. *Pāṇini*—His place in Sanskrit Literature by T. Goldstucker pp. 95–98.

<i>Form according to Pāṇini</i>	<i>Form according to Kātyāyana</i>
(a) एकतर्त् (अङ्गरादिन्यः प्रत्ययः VII.1.25);	एकतर्त् (एकतर्त् प्रतिषेषो वक्तव्यः)
(b) चिद्यन्त् चिन्मयम् (वरोऽनुलालित्युत्तुनासिके च VIII.4.45);	चिद्यन्त् became obsolete (प्रलये मात्राणां निलयम्).
(c) आश्वर्यमन्तेये (VI.1.147) (not permanent, rare).	आश्वर्यमद्यत् उति वक्तव्यम् (wonderful).
(d) भोज्यं भद्रे (VII.3.69) (applicable to the eating of solid alone).	भोज्यमन्यवहुयमिति वक्तव्यम् (applicable to the eating of solid and liquid).

When such is the case, it is not possible to think that they were contemporaries as is said in the *Koṭhāśaritsāgara* and that *Kātyāyana* was an intelligent pupil and *Pāṇini* was an idiot under the *Acarya Varṣa* and they respectively composed *Aṣṭādhyāyi* and *Vārtika* through *Śeṣa's grace*. *Kāmabhadra Dikṣita*, in his *Patrīñjalicerita* improves upon *Koṭhāśaritsāgara* by omitting to say that *Pāṇini* was an idiot and perhaps to emphasise the necessity for *Śeṣa's* *avalāru* as *Patañjali* makes both *Pāṇini* and *Kātyāyana* curse each other.—

1. Of अथ कोऽन्न वर्षम् शिखलग्ने मुहूरम् ।

तत्रैकः पाणिनिनाम नङ्गुदितरोऽभवत् ॥ (4-20)

तत्र तीव्रेण नपसा तिष्ठितादिन्दुश्चलेशात् ।

मर्यविद्यासुखे तेन प्राप्तं ल्याकृतणं नवम् ॥ (4-22)

तत्तद्वागता सामेव वादवाहिष्ठे स्त्र सः ।

प्रवर्ति नाप्यमोक्षादि प्रवाताः नन् वासारः ॥ (4-23)

बहून्दात्र नवा तास्माणिते तत्तद्वागतम् ।

नमःस्तेष्वन् महालीरो द्वुष्टान्तरम्भुता कृतः ॥ (4-24)

तेष्व प्रणट्टैर्नैः तदस्तमद्वागतणे कुचि ।

जिता पाणिनिना सर्वे नूर्त्यभृता वर्षे नुसः ॥ (4-25)

अथ राजात्मनिवेदः ल्यकृद्धिष्ठते धनम् ।

हस्ते हिरण्यगुप्तस्य तिथाव विग्रहो निदम् ॥ (4-26)

तत्त्वा तत्त्वोपेशासै गत्वालस्मि वाक्तव्य ।

नपेभिरात्मतिर्तु निराहारो द्विभात्तम् ॥ (4-27)

आराधितो नदूदिवो वरदः पार्वतीयतिः ॥ (4-27)

तदेव नेन शास्त्रे ने पाणिनाम उक्ताणितम् ।

तत्त्वद्वागतुभृतेष्व नवा पूर्णितु च तत् ॥ (4-28)

2. Of यस्मादेवज्ञात्वा सप्त प्रनावं शुभवज्ञानुप्राप्तमाजनस्य ।

सुन्नेष्वद्वयोऽज्ञातुसञ्चिन्नाहृतोऽप्य बार्तिकमातानिप्रः ॥ (1-67)

तस्मात्पत्तेष्व तस्मुस्तवेष्यम् इल्लदते पाणिनिशापत्राक्षम् ।

आकर्ष्य तस्य स विक्षद्वम्बुः काव्यावलोऽपि प्रति ते विषयः ॥ (1-68)

सत्त्वात्वात्मनं भगवत्प्रत्यादविवर्त्तभूतान्मध्ये त्रासिक्षानि ।

मध्ये यतः शास्त्रमध्ये वदेन ततो विक्षयेत तत्त्वापि सधार्थः ॥ (1-69)

Since in *Kathasaritsagara*, the stories are said to be narrated by *Kātyāyana* and since *Kātyāyana* was definitely known to have written *Vārttika* on *Pāṇini*'s work, the author may have thought it necessary that *Kātyāyana* should be shown as a precocious pupil, that *Pāṇini* was an idiot, that he was able to write his work through Śiva's grace and through Śiva's intervention and grace *Kātyāyana* wrote the *Vārttika* on his work.

But at the same time we read the following statement regarding *Pāṇini* in pages 221 and 222 of the first volume of the book, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India by Thomas Watters:—

"Five hundred years after Buddha's decease, a great Arhat from Kashmir in his travels as an apostle arrived at this place (a tope in Po-lo-tu-lo). Here he saw a brahmin teacher chastising a young pupil: in reply to the Arhat's question, the teacher said he beat the boy for not making progress in Etymology.... The Arhat answered, "This boy of yours is that rishi (*Pāṇini*)."

Since this story should have been current long before *Kathasaritsagara* was written, it may have been made use of, that *Pāṇini* was an idiot, though, according to it, he was so in his next birth.

We may positively state that *Kātyāyana* lived long after *Pāṇini* from the following point:— There is a *vārttika* द्रव्याभिधानं व्याहिः (under I-2-64); *Padañjali* states शोभना चलु दाक्षायणे सद्ग्रहस्य लृतिः (under II-3-66), लक्ष्यह एतत्वाधान्येन परीक्षितम् (*Puspaka*) and आपिशलपाणिनीयव्याहीयगौतमीयः (under VI-2-36); and *Kathasaritsagara* says,

अस्यापवितुमसांश्च प्रवृत्तोभूदसौ ततः ।

सहचलुते मया तत्र दिः शुतं व्यादिना तथा ॥ (II-79)

Since *Kāyādi* is *Dākṣayāṇa* and he was a contemporary of *Kālyāṇī*, *Kālyāṇī* could not have been *Pāṇini*'s contemporary, but should have lived at least 200 years later than him.³

- KĀTYĀYANA'S BIRTHPLACE ETC. -

Kātyāyana is said to have been born at *Kāuśāmbī*, to *Sāmudatta* and *Vasudatta* and educated under *Varṣa* at *Pāṭaliputra* and to have narrated the stories found in the *Kuṭhā-saṃskṛtam* in the forests of the *Vindhya*s. He is also said to have been the minister of *Yogāñanda*.⁴ Perhaps the *Vārtika* 'गहारेषु ग्रन्थिर्वयन्य सञ्चमभावः' under IV-2-138 suggests that he is a *Madhyadīkṣya*. From *Patañjali's* statement विवतदित्त इति॒पात्प्रतिष्ठिता॑ उत्तरो॒ लैकिकवैदिकेषु॑ in *Paspasālinīka*, it is generally said that *Kātyāyana* was a Southerner and he was sneered at by *Patañjali*. R. G. Bhandarkar takes him to be a Southerner⁵ and Prof. Goldstucker says that he is one of the Eastern school.⁶ The reason therefor is that *Kātyāyana*

1. Cf. कल्याणसमाप्तिनोः शब्दशास्त्रार्थेन पाणिनिः कल्याणाद् पूर्वतनः इत्यत्यस्तैव विजायते, ततः कल्याणन एव पाणिनिहत्याकालशस्य वार्तिकाः स लघ्नन्ये विद्यां वरं पाणिनिम् आत्मवेत्सं स्वाहोत्तमः (Sahdakalyāṇadruma).

2. कीशवान्नं मोमदत्तान्नन्या नान्तप्रियेष्व इत्यपि ।

त्रिवैद्भूतस्य भर्त्या त बन्धुदत्ताभेत्वाभवन् ॥

तस्यान्तस्माद्विकरणेषु ब्रह्मोद्दिस्मि शापतः ॥ (II-30-31)

... वस्तुत पटालिक्तं नाम गुरुं नन्दन्य भूषते-

तत्रास्ति चैषो वष्टोऽस्यो विप्रस्तस्माद्वाप्य ॥ (II-45-46)

कल्याणसमाप्तेन्द्रुष्टविष्टः शुचौ भुते ।

वर्षोपागाव ओऽप्तागमकोहिव्यया तिष्ठ ॥

नदनन्तरमेवान्न वेशः पद्मा उपस्थितः ॥ (II-75-79)

इत्याक्षयग ऋषा नवे विन्द्यान्नः जलभूतये ।

पुनर्वर्तनेन्द्रुष्टे प्रहर्षमवर्षयत् ॥ (IV-1)

3. Cf. Indian Antiquary Vol. II p. 240

4. *Pāṇini—His place in Sanskrit Literature* p. 182.

is called आचार्य and *Patañjali*, आचार्यदेवीय by Kātyāyana in his *Pradīpa* under यत्तदेवेभः परिमाणे चतुप् (V-2-39) and *Patañjali* is taken by him to be identical with *Gōvardiya* in his *Pradīpa* under the *sūtra* आचार्यत्रदेवकलिङ् (I-1-21) and *Gōvarda* is in the eastern country and the *Kāśikā* gives under एऽप्राचो देवं (I-1-75) the example गोनदीय. But it will be dealt with later on that it is not easy to decide that गोनदीय refers only to *Patañjali*. If so, the theory that *Kātyāyana* belonged to eastern school may not stand. If it is stated that, because he is said in *Kathāsārasāgara* to have studied under *Vārsya* at *Pāñaliputra*, he may be taken to belong to the Eastern school, it is also stated there that he forgot the whole of *Aindra Vyēkaraya* which he studied under him. From the way in which *Kātyāyana* explains many *sūtras* of *Pāṇini* as if each is an *abhidaraya* and the regard he has for *Pāṇini*, it is certain that he should have been an adherent of the *Pāṇiniyan* school and studied in the *madhyadeśa* near his birth-place *Kāusāmbī*. Why he was stated to be a *Dāksiṇātya* by *Patañjali* has to be explained. From the way in which he refers to *Kātyāyana* in many places of the *Mahābhāṣya*, it is clear that he holds him as a great seer who well supplemented *Pāṇini's sūtras*. This is a clear proof that *Patañjali* cannot be taken to have sneered at him. In that case we have to take it that he calls him a *Dāksiṇātya* following some of the northern grammarians who

1. आचार्यः सद्गृह्या जन्मानन्दः (M. B. under अलविभागी . . . III-3-137 बोलावा; III-3-141 वर्णयित 1V-4-4 and विस्तार V-4-3)
- (a) आचार्येण प्रयोगनानि पठितानि (M. B. under अष्ट; . . . VI-1-13)
- (b) सुदृश्यते अलोन्तस्य स्पाने विश्वातसात्मनंहारः इतरथा श्वानप्रसादः (M. B. under अलोन्तप्रसाद I-1-52)
- (c) पठिताति वाक्तार्थः (M. B. under जनसन्देहनो सञ्जलो; VI-4-44)
- (d) माङ्गलिक आचार्यः महतः वाक्योपल्य मजलार्थे सिद्धशब्दभावितः ग्रन्थे . . . परमात्मा महार्थवैष्ण लिङ्गशब्द भावितः ग्रन्थो मविभावति (M. B. under the वैत्तिका in *Puspaka*)

might have described him in that way. Under the *sūtra* वाचो विप्रतिपत्ति॑ दक्षिणतः . . . I-1-2-1, of the *Baudhayana Dharmasūtra*, the commentator says दक्षिणेन नमेदामुत्तरेण कन्यातीर्थे॒ and *Katyāyana*, in his *Kāmasūtra* makes mention of दक्षिणात्यनाम् in II-5-45 and II-7-23 and *Bhartṛhari* mentions दक्षिणात्येषु in his *Sākyapadīpa* and दक्षिणात्य is generally taken by modern scholars to refer to the resident of दक्षिणपथ or Deccan. *Pāṇini* gives the derivation of दक्षिणात्य in IV-2-98 to denote only a Southerner. Therefore it is a matter for further consideration whether *Katyāyana* is taken as a Southerner because he was so called by the residents of countries north of his place or on account of his having resided long in the forests of the *Vindhya*s.

MENRS OF KĀTYĀYANA

In explaining *sūtras*, he adopts the method which is generally used in dealing with an *adhikarīya* by giving the *pūrva-pūrva*, answering the points raised and finally giving *oddhānta*. He also explains grammatical points on the analogy of incidents found in the world and mentioned in the *Vedas*, from the experience of the world, from nature, from *nyāyas* or maxims like.

एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वम् (under 1-5-56 and VII-3-85)

स्वपदेशिवद्वचनम् (under VI-1-1)

अपवादन्ययः (under I-3-9)

- १ एक लौकिकार्दिक्तु (Paspala, minor उद्धिरादैच I-1-1 स्थानवदादेशोऽनालिङ्गी I-1-36, and एक पूर्वस्त्वं VI-1-84).
- २ ब्रह्म लोके under एकस्त्वं द्वे प्रयत्नस्य, VI-1-1 एक पूर्वस्त्वं VI-1-84 etc. लोकविज्ञानालिङ्गदम् (under अलोन्सात्युर्व उपत्वा I-1-65, आचार्योपसर्वतद्वान्देवादी VI-2-36 etc.)
- ३ लोकविज्ञानाच प्रियत्वं (minor समानकर्तृत्वस्योः पूर्वस्त्वं III-4-21 लोकत्वं (under आचार्योपसर्वतद्वान्देवादी VI-1-2).

सम्बन्धशास्त्रैवा तुल्यम् (under I-1-71)

and from *nyāyas* based on *Dharmaśāstra* like

गुरुवद्वयुवे¹ (under स्थानिवदादेशोऽनलिवदौ I-1-56)

घर्षशास्त्रं च तथा (under सर्वपाणमेकदोष एकविभक्तौ I-2-64)

etc.

He is the author of the following *paribhāṣās* :—

(1) उपपदविभक्ते: कारकविभक्तिवलीयसी (under II-3-19)

(Case-relation of a noun to the verb is stronger than that to another word in the sentence).

(2) ग्रातिपदिकग्रहण लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणम् (under IV-1-1)

(Mention of a stem includes the stem formed by adding the gender-affix to it).

(3) अननुवन्वकग्रहणे न सानुवन्वकस्य ग्रहणम् (under IV-1-15)

(Mention of one without इति does not include the same with इति).

(4) संनियातलज्जणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विवातस्य (under I-1-39)

(Rule bringing out the combination of two things never destroys it.)

(5) यस्मिन्विधिस्तदादावल्यहणे (under I-1-72)

(If a letter in the locative case qualifies another word in the locative, the former should be taken as the initial letter of the latter).

He exclaims the authority of grammar that it enjoins the correct usage of words through such expressions as

साध्वनुशासनेऽस्मिन् (under I-1-44)

सदन्वाल्यानाऽच्छात्वस्य (under I-1-62)

1. Cf. *Gautama-dharmaśāstra* I-2-37-8.

वचनप्रामाण्यात् (under VIII-2-1)

This clearly shows the high regard Kātyāyana had towards Pāṇini.

He tells us that Pāṇini makes use of the *sāñjñā* from the previous grammar Āpiśulam¹ and mentions वाजप्यायन, व्याकि and पौष्ट्रसादि² who are not mentioned by Pāṇini.

He shows that, in certain cases, the *sūtras* may be split in a different way. From this he clearly informs us that they were studied in *Saṁhitā* form and they were taught how to split it into different *sūtras* by the teachers. Since Kātyāyana suggests *yogaibhāga* in many places, it is quite possible that he should have lived long after the time of Pāṇini. His knowledge of Southern India made him modify *Kambōjālluk* (IV-1-175) into *Kambōjādībhāya* to include the Chola country.

He gives us room to infer from his statement सर्वस्य वा चेतनावस्थात् under the *sūtra* चातोः कर्मणः . . . (III-1-7) and Kātyāyana's commentary आत्मादैतदर्शनेन and Nāgējibhatta's gloss सर्वत्र परिणामदर्शनेन चेतनाधिष्ठानं विना त च तदसम्भवात्सर्वस्य तदधिष्ठितन्वं इत्यते on the same that he was an *advaitin* and his expression वचनप्रामाण्यात् under II-1-1 shows that he considered the गच्छप्रमाण to be most powerful.

In the discussion on समर्थः पदविधिः (II-1-1) there is a sentence वार्त्तिककारवचनप्रामाण्यात्. Its other reading is वार्त्तिकवचनप्रामाण्यात्.³ Uddyotakām having taken the former reading says thus:—

न च वचनेत्यस्यापि वार्त्तिकत्वात् वार्त्तिकहता स्तीयवचसः कथं प्रमाणत्वे नाशयत्वमिति भाष्ये वार्त्तिकत्वाद्यनुपपत्तिमिति वाच्यम्। अन्योऽयं वार्त्तिककारो वार्त्तिककार्यात्मतीयैतद्वचनं प्रसाणान्तरन्वेनाथरतीलयदोषात्.

1. पूर्वमत्रानें शापिष्ठलमधोत् उति (under IV-1-14).

2. इन्द्राभिभाने व्याकि (under I-2-64).

3. नयो हितोऽपि शरि पौष्ट्रसादेः (under VIII-4-48).

4. Keilhorn's edition.

But since सिद्धं तु काश्लतिदुर्गतिवचनात्यादयः कार्यः is found as a *vārttika* under the *sūtra* कुगतिप्रादयः (II-2-18), the statement of *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* needs revision and it is better to take the second reading and to interpret that one *vārttika* mentioned elsewhere is stated in support of another *vārttika*. Hence it is not safe to infer that *Kātyāyana* referred to another *Vārttikakāra*.

Patañjali's statements वार्त्तिकसूत्रिकः साइमहसूत्रिकः and सवाचिकः समद्वाहः under कृत्यदिभ्यान्ताद्वक् IV-2-60 suggest that *Kātyāyana* and *Vyādi* were contemporaries, that they respectively wrote *Vārttika* and *Saṅgraha*, that *Pāṇini's sūtras* were studied along with *vārttikas* and *Saṅgraha* and that *Patañjali* made use of both in his *Mahābhāṣya*.¹

The *vārttika*:

नाम च धातुजभावं निलोके व्याकरणे शक्टस्य च तोकम्
under उपादयो वहुलम् (III-3-1) shows that the *Vārttikakāra* wrote his *vārttika* after *Yāskā* wrote his *Nirukta*.

The *vārttika*:

भूवार्द्धानां वकारोऽयं मङ्गलार्थः प्रयुक्त्वते

shows that the practice of doing मङ्गल to see that one's work is completed without impediment was prevalent before *Vārttikakāra's* time.

The *sūtra* एव इष्टव्यादेशो (I-1-48) is found stated to be unnecessary by the *Vārttikakāra* on the strength of the point पङ्कः सस्यानन्वात् and ऐचोऽप्येत्तरभूयस्त्वात्. Under the *sūtra* च्छ्रुतवैच इतुतौ (VIII-2-106) he gives the *vārttika* सिद्धं तु इडुतोदीर्घवचनात्. Since this is possible in the opinion of *Patañjali* only when मात्राऽवर्णस्य

1. सङ्क्षेप एतत्प्राप्तान्तेन परीक्षितं निलोके न स्पान्तं क्षमो लेति । तत्रोच्च वेषः प्रयोजनान्वयुक्तानि । तत्र त्वय लिङ्गो चलेव निलोके अथापि कर्त्तव्यापि लङ्घणं प्रवर्त्तयिति एव सङ्क्षेप लाज्जकर्यप्रतिदृष्टिमावान्मन्यामहे निलभयाविवाचिनो आह्वानमिति (*Paspurī-āhnika*).

मात्रवर्णविर्जयोः; *Nāgajībhāṭa* says that *Kātyāyana* is inconsistent.¹ It may be noted that it is the *Taittirīyaprātiśākhya* that says

अकारार्थसंकारौ कार्येततदि: (I-26)

इकारोव्यधः पूर्वस्य शोषः, उकारस्तत्त्वरस्य (I-28)

while *Suklayajurvédo* *prātiśākhya* says

ऐकारौकारयोः कण्ठ्या पूर्वी मात्रा ताल्वोद्योरुचया 1-73.

The *vārtikas* सिद्धे ग्रन्थार्थसम्बन्धे and आदिल्यवत्स्युः found in *Pashpaśākika* and *Pratyāhārākika* have parallels in the *Jāiminiya sūtras* औत्यन्तिकस्तु ग्रन्थस्यार्थेन सम्बन्धः (I-1-5) and आदिल्यवद् योगपद्यम् (I-1-15). These along with the *vārtika* आज्ञापद्यन्तं नामान्यभाव्यं त्वरवर्णानुपूर्वोदेशकालनियतत्वात् under V-2-59 suggest that it is possible that *Kātyāyana* lived after *Jāiminī*. About 8 *sūtras* like न धातुलोप आर्थधातुके, दीर्घीवेचीटाम्, नाज्ञालौ, एव इत्यसादेष्ये are found unnecessary by *Kātyāyana*. It has already been stated that *Kātyāyana* made his contribution to the *Ganapāṭha*. He was, perhaps, aware of the science of medicine since he says

तस्य निमित्तप्रकरणे वातपित्तश्लेष्माभ्यः शामनकोपनयोरुपसङ्ग्यानम्
under V-1-38.

PATANJALI.

HIS LIFE

Bhartṛhari, in his *Vākyapadīya*, says that it is through grammar one learns the correct words, that the knowledge of grammar leads one to *Mokṣa*, that grammarians became so lazy as to need short-cuts in grammar and that, consequently, the *svigraha* was not studied, that *Patañjali*, the great, composed the *Mahābhāṣya* bristling with the worldly maxims, that its study became limited to a narrow circle, that it existed in a book-form among 'Dākṣināṭyas', that the

1 एव तात्त्विककारस्य पूर्वप्रविरोधः (*Uddyōta* under VIII-2-106).

Acarya Candra, at the request of *Abhimanyu*, the king of *Kashmir*, learnt it under *Parvata*, and popularised its study in *Kashmir*.¹ He suggests that *Patañjali* was the author of treatises on *Yoga* and medicine² and others express it plainly.³

१ नत्वात्बोधः शब्दानां नास्ति व्याकरणादेऽः ॥ (*Vākyapadiya* I-18.)

तद्वारपर्वतस्य वाचालालानो चिकित्सितम् ॥ *ibid* I-14.

प्रथमं सहयोगहर्वीनलाविद्युगतिप्रतिष्ठानः ।

सम्भाष्य वैशाकरणान् नद्गृहेऽस्तमुपागमते ॥ *ibid* II-481.

हतेऽयं पतञ्जलिना गुरुणा तीर्थवर्णिना ।

सर्वेषां न्यायादीनाम् महाभाष्ये निवर्त्यने ॥ *ibid* II-485.

यः पतञ्जलित्येषु ग्रन्थमात्रे व्यवस्थितः ।

काले स वाक्षिणात्पेषु ग्रन्थमात्रे व्यवस्थितः ॥ *ibid* II-488.

पर्वतादागमम् लक्ष्या भाष्यबोजानुसारिभिः ।

न चीते बहुचालकं बन्द्राचार्यादिभिः पुनः ॥ *ibid* II-489.

अभीर्वभूताभिमन्तुः वत्तमन्युलिपाः ॥ (*Rājatarangini* I-174.)

नन्दाचार्यादिभिर्वचनादिभौ तत्त्वादागमम् ।

प्रकारेतत्तं महाभाष्ये स्वं च व्याकरणं कृतम् ॥ *ibid* I-176.

Abhimanyu lived about 100 B. C. (Dr. Otto Boëtlingk); he lived between 40 and 65 A. D (Professor Lassen.)

२ कामाचारवृद्धिव्यप्त्या ये मलास्तमवस्थिताः ।

चिकित्सालक्षण्यात्मशाक्त्वेषां विशुद्धयः ॥ (*Vākyapadiya* I-148).

३ पात्राङ्गलमहाभाष्यवरकप्रतिरोक्तौः ।

मनोवाक्यादायदोषाणां हत्रैऽस्तिपतये नमः ॥ (*Carakasamhitā—cakradattavyākhyā* I-1.)

अनन्तविन्दनवामास रोगोपशमक्षणम् ।

सत्त्विन्द्य स खर्चं तत्र मुनेः पुत्रो वन्धुव ॥

यत अहं उद्वायातो न ज्ञातः केनचिदप्तः ।

तस्माच्चरक्तनालासी स्फानत्वं त्रितिमण्डलं ।

आत्रेयस्य मुनेः विष्णु अभिलेशादयोऽभवत् ।

मुनेषो वहवस्तीथं कुलं तन्त्रं स्वरं लक्षम् ॥

तेषां तन्त्राणि संस्कृत्य समाप्त्य विष्णविता ।

चरकेगात्रानो नामा ग्रन्थोऽयं चरकः कृतः ॥ (*Bhāvaprakāśa* in the introduction to *Hemaruci's Kākyaposaśākhā*).

आपो नाम अनुमेन उस्तुतात्वस्य कास्तर्वेन निष्क्रवान् ।

रागादिवशादपि नान्यथात्रादी यः स इति चरके पतञ्जलिः (*Nāgajīlvattha* in *Vāyā-kāraṇāśiddhāntamāñjūśā* p. 12.)

योगसूत्रे पतञ्जल्युक्तेः (*Nāgajīlvattha* in the last adhikarana of *Paspala* in *Mahābhāṣya*).

But there are also others who think that *Patañjali*, the author of the *Yoga-sūtra* is different from *Patañjali*, the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*.

I-tsing, the Chinese traveller, writes "There is a commentary on the *vṛtti-sūtra* entitled *cūrṇi* containing 24,000 slokas. It is a work of the learned *Patañjali*. This again cites the former sūtras (*Panini*) explaining the obscure points and analysing the principles contained in it and it illustrates the later commentary (*vṛtti*) clearing up many difficulties. Advanced scholars learn it in three years."¹

Rāmabhadra *Dikṣita*, in his *Patañjalicarita* says thus :—
Gōnikā, the daughter of a *muni* gave *arghya* to Sun-god praying for a son. *Śeṣa*, the lord of serpents, fell in her hand in the form of a sage. He then prayed to Śiva at Chidambaram to enable him to write a *bhāṣya* on the *vārtikas* of *Kālīyāyana*. He granted it; thousands of pupils went to him to learn his *bhāṣya*. He agreed to teach them on condition that he would hang a curtain between him and them and they should never meddle with it. So did the instruction go for some time. Once wondering at the way he answered their questions, they threw aside the curtain. He cursed them at once. One of them was then absent. Though he was cursed for having gone away in the middle without performing *uttaraśānti*, he, after his repeated request, was informed that he would be freed from the effect of the curse after teaching

1 अमं च वेगशान्तस्त्रकात् भिक्षु उति भगवानस्त्वामेस्तमनितम् ।

अनयोरेत्तमेद इति पात्यालृद्वैज्ञानिकणः (*Vācaspatya*).

कलाविज्ञप्ते वेगशान्तस्त्रकात् वेगशान्तिकृत् पन्नविलभित्ति एव ।

अनयोरेत्तमेवता तु निर्देशान्ति पात्यालृ (*Sabdyakalpadruma*) ।

सूत्राणि वेगशान्ते वैधेयकाणां ते च वार्तीकानि ततः ।

हृता पतञ्जलिमुनिः पतञ्जल्यामातु ज्ञानादिदं ज्ञानम् (*Patañjalicarita* by Rāmabhadra *Dikṣita* V-25).

2 Cf. A record of the Buddhist religion by I-tsing and translated by J. Talcott S. p. 178. Prof. Max-Muller points out that *Patañjali* is called *cārṣikī* or *cārṣikā* by *Bhartṛhari*.

Mahābhāṣya to him who would answer correctly that the past passive participle of पुच् is पक्. *Candragupta* who came from *Ujjayinī* gave him the answer and he was taught the work. His son by a śūdra wife was *Bhartrhari*. He wrote *Vākyapadīya*, *Bhāṭṭikāvya* and the śāukas of *nīti*, *śringāra* and *vāirāgya*.¹ *Kātyāyaṇa* takes the epithet गोत्रदीय to refer to *Patañjali* and *Nāgējibhāṣita* mentions that गोपिकापुच् was taken to refer to *Patañjali*.² The word गोत्रदीय, *Hari-dīkṣita* says in *Bṛhacchābdarṇta*, refers to *Vārttikakāra*. It

1. तत्र जपि दद्ये मुनिकल्पा गोत्रीयेति शृणविन्दुज्ञेन । (*Patañjali carita* II-7).

सम्भूतार्थबलम् उल्लिखुञ्जैः नाशकविलम् प्रति लेनम् ।

नामदुरिक्षिण्टि नावदमुभात्ताप्रसाङ्गतरहिः च पापात् ॥ (II-11.)

वचसे स्तुतिभिल नदतं परितुच्छन्त्यमुख्यादिदम् ।

तपसा तत्र योग तोषितो वित्तविष्वन्वरभाग्नोऽस्मि ते ॥ (III-24-25).

पदचार्तिकमात्यनिर्भितौ प्रवसं पादवमन्वयावत् ॥ (III-26).

वगदुपहृतये नामात् भाव्ये महदविरेण पत्रात्तिमहात्मा ॥ (V-3)

तश्चायमसुन्दरुस्तर्वायभावं पिपटिपवः किल पञ्चताः नहवम् । (V-4)

नदनु बवलिङ्गो वित्तल गदं वपुस्तात् च नवालविरामः ।

उपदिशत नहित्तिस्तरिष्याः पठन् कृति न अभेति नाशवात् ॥ (V-5).

नम ग तु न भवेन्नानः यिदो मां य इह तितस्तरिष्यामुदस्म पर्येत् ।

इति पुनरभिभाष्य यात्मार्थं पठिष्ठत्तेऽप्यर्थाः नमालङ्घम्बे ॥ (V-6).

अथ वाणिज्ञतिन्नाचेदत्र पेटुः विलत्तिं यावति वामदास्त्रवम् । (V-14)

प्रतिपुरुषमिहानन्ते . . . वदत्वैति विस्मरेत ।

अपाहृतमनसोऽयं नेऽप्यनिन्दुः सप्तदि तिरस्तरिष्याः तदीक्षणाप ॥ (V-15)

क्षणपात्रेभिद्वाऽयं नाटकोस्तात् याग्मदभिव्यसुलिन्द्य नावदास्त ।

परित्तस्तुपदाय नात्तेकः प्रयत्नसीतिरिदं भवदवदावीत् ॥ (V-16)

काणिवा वामवस्त्राशेषं महं विहरयाम उल्लोक्तात् यावत् ।

विष्वास्त्रपविनिष्ठा उत्ताप्तात् च वह नम यावदिति स्थिताः सर्वार्थाः ॥ (V-19)

इति यद्वितीयं शशाप योगात् लदविवितोत्तरशान्तिमन्वयाः ।

वहित्तिं गतवात् पठन्वदाया उत्तिपि नदुव वाक्सोऽज्ञानेति ॥ (V-20).

निष्ठायो कि नवे पवेत्तिं च वृक्षान् वृक्षः ।

पक्षमिति वदत्ते रक्षां नम उत्तमवाय मुच्यते वापात् ॥

इति कृपयति रक्षाय नदुपान इदमपाहृदविष्य चन्द्रघृतः ।

उपगम इह ने गम्भीरिष्या, अठित्तुपातिवरभात्यमन्तिके ते ॥ (V-31) etc.

2. गोत्रदीयस्त्रवाह — भाष्यवारस्त्रवाह (M. B. under आशन्ताचेतकसित 1-1-29).

3. गोपिकापुच् — भाष्यवाह इलाहुः (M. B. under अक्षयितं च 1-3-52).

occurs four times in the *Mahābhāṣya*—under the *sūtras* आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन् (I-1-21), न चतुर्वीहौ (I-1-29), तत्रोपपदं सतमीस्थम् (III-1-92) and जराया जस्तस्त्यतरस्याम् (VII-2-101).

In the first case when it is said that आद्यन्तवद्भाव need not be mentioned in the *vārttika* अपूर्वानुत्तरलक्षणत्वाद्यन्तयोः सिद्धेऽस्मिन्, the expression गोनदीयस्त्वाह ‘सत्यमेतत्सति त्वन्यसिद्धिति’, ‘सति त्वन्यसिन्....’ is the first *vārttika* under the *sūtra*. Hence the *vārttika* ‘अपूर्व....’ should be taken to belong to one who is other than the author of the *vārttika* “सति तु....”. If the first *vārttika* belongs to *Kātyāyana*, गोनदीय should refer to him alone. If the *vārttika* ‘अपूर्व....’ is taken to belong to him, गोनदीय should refer to another *Vārttikakāra*. A doubt may arise whether *Patañjali* quotes any *vārttika* belonging to any *Vārttikakāra* other than *Kātyāyana* at the commencement of the discussion on any *sūtra*. The *vārttika*

लादिविधिः पुरान्ते वचविशेषण कि डतं भवति ।

न सञ्चुराचतन इति ब्रुवता कात्यायनेनेह ॥ under the *sūtra* लद से seems to belong to the *Ślokavārttikakāra* since mention is made here of *Kātyāyana*. In any case it seems that it cannot refer to *Bhāsyakāra*. In the second case when it is said that, on the authority of the *sūtra* न चतुर्वीहौ, only the forms त्वक्तिपितृकः and मन्त्रपितृकः can be taken to be correct, we find गोनदीयस्त्वाह “अकच्चरौ तु कर्तव्यौ प्रत्यक्षं मुक्तसञ्चयौ.” Here too it is better to take गोनदीय to refer to *Kātyāyana* or another *Vārttikakāra*. It deserves to be noted that the author of the *Kāśikā* has not mentioned the forms त्वक्तिपितृकः and मन्त्रपितृकः and consequently has not recognised the statement अकच्चरौ तु कर्तव्यौ प्रत्यक्षं मुक्तसञ्चयौ, which gives room to infer that गोनदीय here may refer to a *Vārttikakāra* other than *Kātyāyana*.

In the third case when it is said that there will be no authority sanctioning the correctness of the word कात्याकटीकारम्

in the sentence इच्छाम्यहं काशकटीकारम् we find इष्टमेवैतद्वानदीयस्य. Here too there is no harm if गोनदीय is taken to refer to a *Vārtikakāra* other than *Kātyāyana* and not to *Bhāsyakāra*.

In the fourth case when it is said that the forms अनिजरम् and अविजरैः have no authority sanctioning their correctness, it is said गोनदीय आह 'इष्टमेवैतद् संगृहीतं भवति'. Here too the same thing may hold good as in the third case.

Taking all this into consideration, it seems to me that गोनदीय refers to a *Vārtikakāra* of the Eastern school.

There is another argument also which may lend support to this. *Vātsyāyana*, in his *Kāmasūtra* quotes गोनदीय on five occasions and गोणिकापुत्र on eight occasions. On one such occasion while dealing with the number of *nāyikas* he says

अल्यकारणवशात् परपरिगृहीतापि पादिकी चतुर्थीति गोणिकापुत्रः
I-5-5.

उत्कालवालभावाङ्गलयुचितिरूपवारान्यत्वात् वष्टीति गोनदीयः
I-5-25.

When the number of *nāyikas* according to *Gōnikāputra* is four and that, according to *Gōnardiya*, it is eight, it is not possible for both to be one and the same person. It then follows that both the epithets cannot refer to one person, *Patañjali*. Besides it is not generally known that *Patañjali* wrote any treatise on *Kāmaśāstra*. It is safer therefore to conclude that both *Gōnikāputra* and *Gōnardiya* do not refer to him.

If it is decided that *Gōnardiya* does not refer to *Patañjali*, the statement that he is an Eastern grammarian¹ cannot stand, as also the statement that *Kātyāyana* also belonged to the Eastern country. *Parbhatacandra Cakravarti's*

¹ Cf. *Pīṇini* — His place in Sanskrit Literature p. 181.

opinion that he is a Southerner' needs revision. There are strong reasons to believe that *Patañjali* should have studied under the pupil-descendants of *Kātyāyana*.

It has already been stated that many *sūtras* of *Pāṇini* are discussed by *Kōtyāyana* in the form of *ndhikarṇas*. To decide which of the *mārtikas* are *pūrṇapakṣīya* and which of them are *siddhāntīya* is not very easy. It can be easily done if it was handed down from teacher to pupil. In many places *Kātyāyana* states यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु, यथा लोके, लोकवत्, लोकविज्ञात्विदय, स्वभावसिद्धत्वात्, घर्मशास्त्रं च तथा etc. Unless it was handed down from teacher to pupil, the applications of the above statements can hardly be easily known. A cursory study of *Mahābhāṣya* would convince any one that *Patañjali* should have studied under *Kātyāyana's* disciples or their disciples.

His range of personal knowledge of geography of India extends to Kashmir on the north; *Pāṭaliputra* in the east¹ and Ujjain on the south.² He mentions that *Śivapura* is a village in the northern country,³ that *Kāśīra*, *Dūṣarūpya*, *Sakala*, *Sāsuka*, *Pāṭaliprastha*, *Nāndipura*, and *Kāṅkkuṭivaha* are villages in *Vohika*;⁴ *Śārikāśya* which he mentions there is *

1 Cf. The Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. II p. 268.

2 कल्पनह गोप्यात्, तत्र सकलन् पास्यान् । अभिजातासि देवदत्, स्वभावनगत्वाम्, तत्र सकलनपिकाम (M. B. under विमाप मात्राण्डे III-2-114).

3 कल्पत् पाटलेषु च उगमितुरेव भर्तुर्वाऽऽह इदमद् गतमेति (M. B. under निषा III-2-112).

4 कल्पत् पाटलेषु च उगमितुराह शोऽप्यकाला गत्वा आपाद्यत्तु वेतस्मिन् हृषी भविष्यति (M. B. under ID-3-133) etc.

पाटलिष्वन्नम् अपानालो भवेत्यतेति । , पाटलिषु चाऽन्ता अवयवय आनन्दे देवशा असा शकाल इत्या अत्य शासदा हति (M. B. under IV-3-66).

अपाद्यत्तु युज्वे रुदी देवः (M. B. under II-4-83.)

अनुशीलं पाटलिष्वन्नम् (M. B. under II-1-16.)

पाटलिष्वन्नादागत्वामि (M. B. under II-3-28.)

5 उच्चिन्धा अभियते माहिषस्य स्वेष्टमनं संभावयते (M. B. under देतुमेति च III-1-26)

6 M. B. notes अन्तश्चात्मप् (IV-2-104.)

45 miles north-west of कान्यकुञ्ज. Kampilya also is a place near to it. He states that the distance from Gavīdhūmān to Śāṅkāśya is four *yōjanas*: Gavīdhūmān is modern Kundarkot. Śaurya and Jāmbava are two cities and Kēlavatā and Sōlukinī are two villages mentioned under the *sūtra* विशिष्टलिङ्गो नदीवेशोऽ-
ग्रामाः II-4-7. Brughna² also is a village. Mathurā,³ Sakēta,⁴
Kānyakubja,⁵ Hastināpura,⁶ Vārāṇasī⁷ are the cities which
are mentioned by him. Most of them are in Madhyadeśa.
The word निष्कौशमिवः⁸ is used more than once; Kāuśambī is
an old village on the left bank of the Jumna about 30 miles
to the west of the Allahabad.⁹ The two villages Kīlumatā and
Sōlukinī are perhaps near Kāuśambī. The rivers that he
mentions are the Ganges, the Jumna, the Sōn and the Rukṣagā.
The word कांचिषुरक is used under the *sūtra* अब्दवाल्पः; it means
the resident of Kāncipura. If this refers to the present city
under that name in the Madras Presidency, it seems that
it is the only city in Dekhan that is mentioned by him. The
provinces that he refers to are Gāndhāra,¹⁰ Kāshmīra,¹¹

1 M. B. under अधादने पातमी (II-3-28.)

2 अवं पत्नाः शुभामूर्पितहते (M. B. under उपानन्दकरणे I-3-25.)

3 M. B. under the *sūtras* ऋषुक, गाहुर्यादभ्योऽस्मिन्निति (I-2-1) etc.

4 अवं पत्नाः साकेतमुपनिषते (*ibid.*)

5 कान्यकुञ्जी (M. B. under गोत्रवयवात् IV-1-79.)

6 अनुग्रहे शस्तिनपुरम् (M. B. under यस्य नायामः II-1-16.)

7 अनुग्रहे बाराणसी (*ibid.*).

8 निष्कान्तः कौशम्भवः निष्कौशमिवः under *sūtras* कुशतिपादनः (II-2-18).
आकाशादेव संज्ञा (I-4-1) etc.

9 Geographical Dictionary by Dey.

10 गान्धारे (M. B. under IV-1-14).

11 कश्मीरराजः (M. B. under IV-1-1).

Pāñcasāda,¹ *Aśvati*,² *Kuntī*,³ *Kurū*,⁴ *Madra*,⁵ *Pāñcāla*,⁶ *Vidēha*,⁷ *Kōsala*,⁸ *Kāśī*,⁹ *Vidarbha*,¹⁰ *Anga*,¹¹ *Vaṅga*,¹² *Trigarta*,¹³ *Surāṣṭra*, *Kāmbōja*,¹⁴ and *Kērala*,¹⁵

Patañjali tells us that brahman women studied the grammars of *Āpiśāla* and *Kāśakṛtsna*,¹⁶ and a cave was called *Kiṣkindhā*.¹⁷

Patañjali's knowledge of medicine is seen from the following :—

(1) दधित्रयुसे प्रलक्षो ज्वरः नहृष्टोदकं पादरोगः यायुवें भृतम् (M. B. under I-1-58 and VI-1-32).

(2) मूत्राय कल्पते यचाग्नः उचाराय कल्पते यचाचम् (M. B. under II-3-13).

(3) अतीसत्त्वे ज्वाधिः (M. B. under III-3-17).

His knowledge of architecture is seen from the following :

(1) कृतदमश्चुश्च पुनः इमश्चाणि कारण्यते (M. B. under VI-1-127).

1 प्रजाती नदीनां समाजारं प्रजानदं (*ibid* under IV-1-88).

2 पर्णः पर्णदे देशं बहुधान्तरधनान्विते।

3 उचार वासं सर्वस्य ननस्य मुनिसत्तम् II (*Vishnupurāṇa* V-88-12).

4, 5 & 6 (M. B. under I-2-49).

5 अदातजः (M. B. under IV-1-1).

6 प्रलक्षोदत्तरते (M. B. under III-2-16).

7 वेदेषः (M. B. under I-4-4).

8 & 9 काचिकंसलीनाः (M. B. under IV-1-54)

10 वेदभीः (M. B. under I-4-1).

11 & 12 आङ्गकः, जाङ्गकः (M. B. under IV-3-120)

13 परिवेशते वृष्टे देवः (M. B. under VIII-1-5).

14 Cf. *Paspasāhnikā*.

15 M. B. under कृष्णोजालकुम्.

16 नरिवालमध्यते शाश्वती — आपिशक्ता शाश्वती ... चाग्नहस्तमध्यते वाशाहस्ता शाश्वती (M. B. under IV-1-13).

17 M. B. under VI-1-167.

(2) शिल्पिविशेषाद्वा (M. B. under I-2-9).

(3) शिल्पिनः उत्पादयमात्तः द्रव्यव्याल्तरेण प्रक्षालयन्ति (M. B. under V-3-55).

His wide knowledge of the world is patent from the following:—

(1) कथित कान्तारे समुपस्थिते सार्थमुपादत्ते; स यदा जिष्कान्त कान्तारे भवति तदा सार्थं जहाति (M. B. under I-1-74).

(2) पाञ्चाला जनपदः सुभिक्षः सम्पन्नपातीयः बहुमात्यफलः (*ibid* I-2-52).

(3) वदरी सूक्ष्मकण्ठका मधुरा वृक्षः (*ibid*).

(4) समाने रक्ते वर्णे गौलोहित इति भवति अश्वः द्वीण इति; समाने च काले वर्णे गौः कृष्ण इति भवति अश्वो हेम इति; समाने च शुक्रे वर्णे गौः श्वेत इति भवति अश्वः कर्क इति (*ibid* I-2-71) and (II-2-29).

(5) गरवः उत्कालितपुंसका वाहाय च विकाय च (*ibid*).

(6) साक्षात्यकेभ्यः पाटलिषुतका अभिस्तपतराः (*ibid* I-3-11 etc.)

(7) योऽयं दुर्वेलः सन् चलवद्धिः सह भारं वहति (*ibid*).

(8) सात्रेष्यकेभ्यश्च पाटलिषुतकेभ्यश्च माधुरा अभिस्तपतराः (*ibid* V-3-57).

(9) आमादागच्छन् कांस्यपात्रां पाणिनौदनं भुज्ञे (*ibid* I-4-24).

(10) गोमयादुधिको जायते, गोलोमाविलोमाभ्यो दूर्घा जायन्ते (*ibid* I-4-30).

(11) कथित कञ्जिदामल्ययते 'सिद्धं भुज्यताम्' इति। स आमन्त्यमाण आह 'प्रभृतं भुक्तमसाभिः' इति। आमन्त्यमाण आह 'दधि खलु भविष्यति, पथः खलु भविष्यति' इति। आमन्त्यमाण आह 'दधा खलु भुज्ञीय, पथमा खलु भुज्ञीय' इति (*ibid* I-4-49).

(12) इह य एष मनुष्यो दुःखात्तो भवति सोऽन्यानि दुःखान्यतुनिशत्य विषमक्षणमेव ज्यायो मन्यते । (*ibid* I-4-50).

(13) भिष्मकोऽये हितीयां भिक्षां समासाद्य पूर्वा न जहाति, सञ्चयायैव प्रवर्तने (*ibid* II-1-1).

(14) अवतरे नकुला न चिरं स्थानात्रो भवन्ति (*ibid* II-1-47).

(15) लोहितशालिमानं प्राप्तः (*ibid* II-1-68).

(16) सर्वे मनुष्या अप्येनाख्येत महतो महतोऽथोत्ताकाङ्क्षन्ति, एकेन माधेण शतस्वहर्षम् (*ibid*).

(17) समानर्माहमानानां ऋषीयानानां च केचिदर्थयुज्यन्ते अपरे न (*ibid* II-2-6 etc.).

(18) कील आहन्यमानः प्रतिकीलं जिह्वन्ति (*ibid* II-2-6 etc.).

(19) स्वं नाम चतुर्भिरेतत्प्रकारैर्भवति — क्रयणादपदहरणाचाच्चाया विनिमयादिति (*ibid* II-3-50.)

(20) अनस्थिकाः शुद्रजन्तवः । अधवा येषां स्वं शोषितं नास्ति ते शुद्रजन्तवः etc. (*ibid* II-4-8).

(21) य एते दासाः कर्मकरा नाम, तेऽपि स्वभूत्यर्थमेव प्रवर्तन्ते, भक्तं चैते च लभ्यामहे परिमाणव्य त नो भविष्यन्ति इति । तथा य एते शिल्पिनो नाम तेऽपि स्वभूत्यर्थमेव प्रवर्तन्ते वेतनं च लभ्यामहे, मित्राणि च नो भविष्यन्ति इति (*ibid* III-1-26).

(22) शयाना चर्देते दूर्वा, ... आसीनं चर्देते विसम् (*ibid* III-2-126).

(23) कविदग्रार्थी शालिकलापं सतुरो भृपलालमाहरति नान्तरीय-कल्यात् । स यावदादेयम् तावदादाय तु भृपलालान्युत्सृजति (*ibid* III-3-18).

(24) मोगचानयं देश इत्युच्यते यस्मिन् गावः सम्याजि च वर्तन्ते (*ibid* V-1-9).

(25) ब्रह्मोऽयं ग्रन्थत्वारि योजनानि गच्छति, अस्वतरोऽयं योऽप्यौ योजनानि गच्छति (*ibid* V-3-55).

(26) इह समाले भायाम् विस्तारे च पटस्य अन्योऽधीं भवन्ति काशिकस्य अन्यो माधुरस्य (*ibid*).

(27) पद्मरये ब्राह्मण इत्युच्यते यो लघुनोपायेनार्थान् साधयति, पद्मकल्पोऽयमित्युच्यते यो न तथा साधयति (*ibid* V-3-67).

(28) लोक ईश्वर आजापयति ! आपाह्नामान्मनुष्या आनीयन्ता प्रामगङ्के ग्रामेष्यो ब्राह्मणा आनीयन्तमिति वेदु तत्र ग्रामेषु ब्राह्मणा न सम्भित न तहींदानीं ततोऽन्यस्यानयनं भवति । (*ibid* VI-1-2).

(29) अर्णोदके संपृक्ते आभिव्याप्त ज्ञायते कियन्त्सीरं कियदुदकम् इति, कस्मिन्वाचकारो शीरं कस्मिन्वाचकारो उदकमिति, एवमिहाप्याभिव्याप्त ज्ञायते का प्रकृतिः कः प्रत्ययः, कस्मिन्वाचकारो प्रकृतिः कस्मिन्वाचकारो प्रत्यय इति (*ibid* VI-1-9).

(30) लोके यो द्वयोऽस्तु उच्चवलयोरेकः प्रेष्यो भवति स तयोः पर्यायेण कार्ये करोति ; यदा तु तस्मां तु ग्रामेष्येष्यतो नानादिष्टु च कार्ये भवतस्तत्र यथस्वाचविदोधार्थी भवति, तत्र उधयोर्ज करोति (*ibid* VI-1-85).

(31) शतधारोऽयं मणिः (*ibid* VI-1-115).

(32) कवित् कंचित् तं तु वायमाह 'अस्य उत्तम्य शाठकं वय' (*ibid* II-1-51 etc.).

(33) गुरुणा गिर्यच्छत्रवच्छादः शिष्येण च गुरुच्छत्रवच्छ परिपाल्यः (*ibid* IV-4-62).

(34) य आशु कर्तव्यानर्थाधिरेण करोऽसि स उच्चये शीतक इति, यः पुनराशु कर्तव्यानर्थानादेव करोति स उच्चये उष्णक इति* (*ibid* V-2-72).

(35) न दानां क्षियो रक्षगता यो यः पृच्छति कस्य यद्यं कस्य यृद्यमिति तं तं तव त्वेत्याहुः (*ibid* VI-1-2.)

(36) अब्राहाणमानय इत्युक्ते ब्राह्मणस्तदशा एवानीयते, नासौ लोक-मानीय कृती भवति (*ibid* III-1-12 etc.)

(37) हर्षिदौ इत्युत्तम्य पादौ, काषायौ गर्वेभस्य कर्णौ (*ibid* IV-2-2.)

(38) अकृपिता अपि दृश्यन्ते दारकान्भर्तर्त्यमानः (*ibid* VIII-1-8.)

(39) द्वयो रक्षयोर्वैखयोर्मध्ये शुरुं वक्षं तदुणसुपलभ्यते (*ibid* I-2-30.)

(40) चाताय कौपिला विद्युदातपाचातिलोहिनी !

पीता भवति सस्याय दुर्भिक्षाय सिता भवेत् ॥ (*ibid* II-3-13.)

The following *nyāyas* and their applications also bear testimony to his knowledge of the world :—

(1) कल्पता च नाम प्रयत्नेन भवितव्यम् (*Puspasō*).

(Attempt should have its reward).

(2) यच्च पुनरर्दिष्टायातिपिदं नैव तदोपाय नाभ्युदयाय (*ibid*).

(That which is neither enjoined nor prohibited brings neither de-merit if not done, nor merit if done).

(3) आनन्द सिक्तः पितरश्च प्रीणितः¹ (*ibid* M. B. under VIII-2-3).

(Mango trees are watered and the manes are satisfied).

(4) योऽस्ति स भविष्यति (M. B. under अहउण्).

(That which exists in this world will make its appearance).

(5) समाजे वाये शास्त्रान्वितोऽशास्त्रान्वितस्य निर्वर्तकी भवति (*ibid* under अहउण्).

(Though both convey the same meaning, the grammatically correct word enables us to avoid the use of the incorrect one).

(6) कैषा महतो वैशालीम्बालुदाङ्ग्यते (*ibid*).

(This is like catching a tiny bird from a cluster of tall bamboos).

(7) यत्र क्रियमाणे न दोषस्तत्र कर्तव्यम् (M. B. under एओइ etc.).

(Operation should take place where arises no harm).

(8) ब्राह्मणा मोज्यन्तां भाठरकौण्डिन्यौ परिवेषिताम् (*ibid* under हयवर्द्).

(Let brahmans be fed and let *Māthara* and *Kāuṇḍinya* serve).

(9) इतरेतसथवाणि च कार्याणि न प्रकल्पन्ते (*ibid* under I-1-1).

(Two inter-dependent things never happen).

1 लूलः is another reading. *Pradīpa* under (VII-1-18).

(10) अतज्ञातीयकं लोकं व्यवधायकं भवति (*ibid* under I-1-7).
(Only a dissimilar thing can separate two similar things in the world.)

(11) प्रासादवासिन्यायः (*ibid* under I-1-8.)
(The *nyāya* of the resident on the top-floor. (i. e.) The resident of both the top-floor and the ground-floor will be included both among the residents of the top-floor and among those of the ground-floor.)

(12) न हि मिषुकास्त लीति स्थाल्यो नाधिर्थीयन्ते, न च मृगा-स्सर्तीति यथा नोप्यन्ते (*ibid* I-1-41, IV-1-1 and VI-1-13.)
(Cooking is not avoided fearing the beggars nor is *yāra* not sown fearing animals.)

(13) दधि ब्राह्मणेभ्यो दीयतां, तकं कौण्डिन्याय (*ibid* 1-1-47, VI-1-2, VI-4-163 and VII-1-72.)
(Let curd be given to brahmans and butter-milk to *Kaundinya*.)

(14) नष्टवदग्धरथन्यायः (*ibid* I-1-51.)
(The *nyāya* of the dead horse and the burnt chariot):— when two chariots go on a race and if the horse of one falls dead and the other chariot is burnt down, the horse of the one chariot is yoked to the other unburnt chariot.)

(15) मात्रा न भोक्तव्या इत्युक्ते मिश्रा अपि न भुज्यन्ते (*ibid.*)
(If it is enjoined that black gram should not be eaten, the mixture of black gram with others too is not eaten.)

(16) वो वसा प्रसर्ते भवति, लभते असौ तत्कार्याणि (*ibid* I-1-56.)
(The acting man gets the work of the permanent man.)

(17) स्तामान्यं भतिदिश्यमाने विशेषो नातिदिष्ठो भवति (*ibid.*)
(Application of general characteristics through analogy- does not comprehend the special characteristics.)

(18) अभ्यन्तरे हि समुदायस्यावयवः (*ibid.*)
(Part is included in the whole.)

(19) एकेन यज्ञेनाभयं लभ्यम् (*ibid* I-1-39.)

(Strike two birds at one shot.)

(20) अपि काकः द्वेजायते ? (*ibid* I-2-45.)

(Can a crow become a kite ?)

(21) आच्चान् पृष्ठः कोविदासानाचषे (*ibid.*)

(Being questioned about a square, you answer about a circle.)

(22) न हि गोधा सर्पेन्ती सर्पेणादहिर्मेवति (*ibid* I-3-12.)

(Can a lizard become a serpent though with similar movement?)

(23) अवयवे इति लिङ्गं समुदायस्य विशेषकं भवति ये समुदायं
योऽवयवो न व्यभिचरति (*ibid* I-3-62 and III-1-5.)

(Mark in a limb becomes a differentiating factor of the whole
if that limb is an indispensable element of the whole.)

(24) इतो वटः सदाशयाणां कायोणां निमित्तं भवति, न क्रियमाणः
(*ibid* III-1-3).

(Pot made is the source of deeds relating to a pot and not a
pot to be made).

(25) सहियोगशिष्टानामन्यतरापाये उभयोरन्यपायः (*ibid* IV-1-36
and V-1-56.)

(Injunction to two conjointly loses its hold when either
disappears).

(26) यो हि भुक्तवन्ते व्र्यान्मा भुक्त्या इति कि तेन इति स्यात् ?
(*ibid* VI-1-37.)

(What is the use of asking one not to eat when he has already
eaten ?)

(27) कुर्मीघान्यन्यायः (*ibid* I-2-7).

(Nyāya of pot-grain—He who has grain only in a pot can be
called कुर्मीघान्य and not one who has grain elsewhere also).

(28) दण्डन्यायः (*ibid* VIII-2-83).

(*Nyāya* of man with a stick—whenever the man is referred to, he should have a stick in his hand).

(29) अभिवर्धमानो गर्भः सर्वाङ्गपरिषृणो भवति (*ibid* VIII-2-106).
(Embryo, when it grows, grows on all sides).

Patañjali has also been pleased to frame and use the following *paribhāṣās* :—

(1) व्याल्यान्तं विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्त—हि सन्देहादलक्षणम् (*Paspasa* etc.)

(A *sāstric* statement, if not clearly understood, should not be thrown away, but should be understood through commentaries).

(2) असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तररुपे (M. B. under प्रश्नोऽत् etc.)

(*Bahirāṅgaśāstra* is non-existent before an *untaraṅgaśāstra*).

(3) लिंदिश्यमानस्य आदेशा भवन्ति (*ibid* हथबद्द).

(*Adēśas* replace only those that are mentioned).

(4) कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषम् (*ibid* I-1-5).

(*Namjñā-sūtras* and *Paribhāṣā-sūtras* appear on the scene of operation).

(5) यथोदयं संज्ञापरिभाषम् (*ibid* I-1-11.).

(*Samjñā-sūtras* and *Paribhāṣā-sūtras* operate without leaving their respective position.)

(6) लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैव प्रहणम् (*ibid* I-1-14 etc.)

(Word mentioned has preference to word got from *lakṣanya*.)

(7) अर्थवह्नेन नानर्थकस्य प्रहणम् (*ibid.*)

(If one conveys meaning in one way of interpretation and no meaning in another, the former has preference.)

(8) गौणमुख्योः मुख्ये कार्यसंप्रत्ययः (*ibid* 1-1-15.)

(Operation should take place on the primary and not on the secondary one.)

(9) अधारं प्रकरणात् कृतिमाकृतिमयोः कृतिम् कार्यसंप्रत्ययः (*ibid* 1-1-23 etc.)

(Action to proceed on the *krtrimā* (newly made) and not on *akrtrimā* (natural) decided through meaning or context.)

(10) पुरस्तादपवादः अनन्तरान् विधीन् वाधन्ते नोन्तरान् (*ibid* 1-1-28.)

(Rules of exceptions mentioned previously affect those that immediately follow them and not those which are further away.)

(11) अन्तरङ्गान्पि विधीन् वहिरङ्गे विविर्वाधते (*ibid* 1-1-29.)

(*Bahiranga* rules sometimes overrule *antaraṅga* rules.)

(12) आव्यामानेन सवणानां ग्रहणं न (*ibid* 1-1-51) etc.)

(A letter taught in a rule cannot refer to those homogeneous with it.)

(13) स्वरविधी व्यञ्जनमविधमानवद् (*ibid* 1-1-51.)

(Consonant is non-existent when rules concerning sonants operate.)

(14) नानुबन्धकलमनेकाल्पम् (*ibid* 1-1-55.)

(*Anubandha* is not a factor to decide polysyllabism.)

(15) सङ्कटतां विप्रतिरेषे यद्वाधितं तद् वाधितमेव (*ibid* 1-1-56.)

(When two rules conflict with each other, the one, defeated after its first operation, is defeated for ever.)

(16) वर्णाश्रये नास्ति प्रत्ययलक्षणम् (*ibid* 1-1-58.)

(Rule relating to a suffix does not operate when a rule relating to a letter has to operate.)

(17) अन्यत्र वर्णप्रहणे जातिप्रहणे भवति (*ibid* I-2-41.)

(Letters refer to genus except when rules relating to the number of syllables operate.)

(18) अनन्तरस्य विधिर्वा भवति श्रतिषेचो वा (*ibid* I-2-48 etc.)

(*Vidhi* (enjoining) or *pratisiddha* (prohibition) refers to what is nearest).

(19) नातुवन्धुतमलाहृत्यम् (*ibid* I-3-9).

(Likeness is not affected between two letters though they have different *anubandhas* attached to them).

(20) विकरणेभ्यो नियमो वर्णायान् (*ibid* I-3-50.)

(*Niyama-vidhi* is more powerful than conjugational signs.)

(21) तदेकदेशाभूतं तद्व्यष्टिं गृहात् (*ibid* I-4-13.)

(Its part is made to denote it.)

(22) अवयवविधौ सामान्यविधिर्वा भवति (*ibid* II-2-3).

(General rule does not operate when rules for parts are enjoined.)

(23) कृद्व्यष्टि गतिकारकपूर्वस्याणि प्रहणम् (*ibid* IV-1-48.)

(*Krt* affix denotes the word ending with it together with the *gati* or the noun denoting a case-relation which may be prefixed to it).

(24) मध्येऽपवादाः पूर्वान्विधीन वाचने (*ibid* IV-1-55.)

(Rules of exception in the middle affect those which precede).

Patañjali was aware of the different dialects of Sanskrit.¹ He gives different readings in one *sūtra*.²

1 अनालोगितास्त्रा क्लोवेन्वेव भाषितो भवति । विकार एनास्त्रा लापन्ते शब्द इति । हम्मनि: सुराष्ट्रे, राष्ट्रे: पश्चिमाष्ट्रे, गमिमेव लाप्तोः प्रयुक्तो । दातिवक्तव्ये पश्चिमे, दात्रसुदान्त्रे³ (*Paspasa*).

2 उभयाणा आनामेषं शिष्याः सत्रं अतिपादिताः । क्लेनेदाक्तामादेका संज्ञा इति, क्लेनेत् ग्राक्तादात्मां चर्येत् इति (M. B. under I-4-1).

He defines - वृत्ति as परायाभिश्चानम् and classifies it into two :-
जहल्लाधी वृत्तिः and अजहल्लाधी वृत्तिः (M. B. under II-1-1.)

He mentions the nature of स्फोट in :-

स्फोटः गच्छः उचितः शब्दशुणः (M. B. under I-1-70.)

and the word स्फोट in स्फोटमात्रं निर्विश्वते (M. B. under एओइ.)

He recognises four *pramāṇas* as is seen from

त्र्यत्वेण खल्पयि म विश्वते (M. B. under IV-1-3.)

प्रत्यक्षलेनात्मिक्युमयोरभिसन्ध्यः हतो भवति, चिविष्टव्यकपरिवार-
कायोऽस्य (ibid III-2-124.)

क्रिया नामेयमत्यन्तापरिहष्टा सात्तावद्गुमानगम्या (ibid III-2-115)

उपमानात्मिक्यम् (ibid IV-1-33.)

वचनप्रामाण्यात् (ibid I-3-9.)

ज्ञानप्रमाणका वयम् (ibid II-1-1 etc.)

He recognises that Pāṇini's grammar deals with words found in all *Vedas*.

OJ. सर्ववेदपारिषदं हीनं शास्त्रम् (M. B. under VI-3-14.)

His keen knowledge of all the four *Vedas*, *Dharmasūtras*, *Śrāutasūtras*, *Gṛhyasūtras*, *Itihāsas*, *Purāṇas*, *Pūrvamimāṃsā-sūtra* and *Nyāyasūtra* and his intimate knowledge of *Śrāvaka-*
śāstra and *Smārttakarma* are patent from the profuse quotations he gives from them. It is elaborately dealt with by Prabhat Candra Chakravarti in the Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. II. His mention of यावक्तीतिकः, ब्रैह्मविकः, यायातिकः, and वायवदतिकः, सौमनोत्तरिकः, पेतिहासिकः, पौराणिकः under IV-2-60 shows that before him *Akhyānas*, *Akhyāyikas*, *Purāṇa* and *Itihāsa* were studied by separate sets of people. His mention of जघान कंसं किल वासुदेवः under the question प्रयोक्तुदर्शनविषये इति किमर्थम्? under (III-2-111) tells us that he witnessed the story of *Kaṁsa-vadha* enacted before him. He also says कंसवधमाच्येद् वलिवधमाच्येद् under III-1-26. His statement वारहं काव्यम्,

जालूका: श्लोकः under IV-3-104 throws light on the existence of *Kāryas* in his time. The conversation described between a *vājñī-karana* and a *gūla* under II-4-56 and the expression न त्विष्टः clearly tell us that Sanskrit was a spoken language and *Patañjali* makes his readers understand thro' the conversation that the practice of telling इष्टि was prevalent before the time of *Patañjali*.

The expression कथं पुनरत्मिन् स इत्येतद्भवति? चतुर्मिः प्रकारस् तस्मिन् स इत्येतद्भवति, तात्स्वयात् तादम्बोन् तत्सामीप्यात् तत्साहचर्यादिति under IV-I-48 and the expression कि योऽयः शूलनान्वित्तत्त्वात् स आयःशूलिकः । कि चातः? । शिवभागवते प्राप्नोति under V-2-76 suggest that *Patañjali* was an *advaitin* and his *upasyadevata* was *Siva*!

METHOD ADOPTED IN WRITING BHĀSYA

Rāmabhadra Dikṣita, Prof. Goldstucker, Prof. Keilhorn and others consider that *Mahābhāṣya* is a commentary on *Kātyāyanī's Vārttikas*.¹ But the author of *Sohelakalpadruma* says, एवं पतञ्जलिः सत्रपाठस्य वार्तिकस्य च महाभाष्यं विद्याय नैवेतः प्रसाद-परिच्छान्योऽयं पाणिनीयाषाण्यादीग्रन्थं इति प्रदर्शयन् कात्यायनतीवद्दर्शेण समादरणीयं ग्रन्थमुत्तमम्. From the tabular statement in p. i it can be seen that out of about 4000 *sūtras* found in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, about 1700 came to the purview of the *Mahābhāṣya*. Of them about 1200 have under them the *vārttikas*

1 Cf. *Patañjali* seems to have been an *Advaitācādī* belonging probably to the *Advaita* set of *Siva* religion (The Indian Historical Quarterly II pp. 270-271 and Indian Antiquity Vol. XL p. 272.)

2 नोन्नदं तेषां शुद्धि वार्तिकानामशेषाविद्यन्तर्मुखाण्म् ।

भाष्यं महाभाष्येति महाभाष्यो निमोऽप्यते च्यां शिल नोन्नदः ॥ (I-63.)

Mahābhāṣya, . . . a critical discussion on the *Vārttikas* of *Kātyāyanī*; while its *upāya*, on the other hand, are original *vārttikas* on such *sūtras* of *Pāṇini* as called for his own remarks. (*Pāṇini—His place in Sanskrit Literature* p. 92.)

The *Mahābhāṣya* is, in the first instance, a commentary on *Kātyāyanī's Vārttikas*. (*Kātyāyanī and Patañjali* p. 51.)

of one *Vārtikakāra*, about 25 have under them the *vārtikas* of two or more *Vārtikakāras* and about 425 have no *vārtikas* but only *bhāṣya*, (i.e.) about one fourth of the book deals with the interpretation of *Bhāṣyakāra* on the *sūtras*. Even in *sūtras* which have *vārtikas*² under them, there are certain topics like नद्यवित्तयज्ञ in बृहिरादेव which are *Patañjali's* own. Even among *Sūtrasūtras*, ऋषिणनम् and ऋमत्र have no *vārtikas* under them. Among 1200 *sūtras* which have *vārtikas*, the *vārtikas* under about 700 are simply explanatory. *Patañjali* begins with a lucid commentary on the *vārtikas* more than half of which is in the form of *pūrvapakṣavārtikas* and *siddhāntavārtikas*. Whenever he differs from the opinion of the *Vārtikakāra* or *Vārtikakāras*, he appends his views at the end. *Patañjali* almost always agrees with *Vārtikakāras* whenever they deal with the change of words morphologically and semantically. He sometimes refutes the amendment of *Kātyāyana* through the instrument of *yoga-vibhāṣa* introduced by *Kātyāyana* himself. He gives his own *īśīs* and makes very good use of the devices discovered by *Kātyāyana*. The spirit of independent thought combined with keen critical acumen and consummate scholarship pervades the whole of the *Muhaḥbhāṣya*.

DATES OF PATAÑJALI, KĀTYĀYANA AND PĀNINI

From the expressions पुञ्चमित्रो यजते (under 11-2-26), पुञ्चमित्रं याजयतः (under 11-2-123), पुञ्चमित्रसमा (under 1-1-69), अरपाद्यवनः सोकेतम्, ऋषिणवनो मध्यमिकाम् (under 11-2-111) scholars like Dr. Bhandarkar, Prof. Goldstucker have concluded that *Patañjali* should have been at the court of *Pusyamitra* and lived at the time of Menander's invasion of *Sāketa* and hence could not have lived later than 150 B.C. *Kātyāyana's* date is considered to be about 350 B.C. *Pāṇini* is taken by

2 *Vārtika* and *Vārtikakāra* found in the early part of the book may be corrected to *Vārtika* and *Vārtikakāra*.

2 Cf. *Pāṇini*— His place in Sanskrit Literature p. 92.

Prof. Max-Muller and other scholars to be a contemporary of *Kātyāyana*, while Prof. Goldstucker thinks that he should have lived long before *Kātyāyana*. 150 B. C., 350 B. C. and 550 B. C. may, for the present, be taken as the approximate dates of *Patañjali*, *Kātyāyana* and *Pāṇini*.

I express my heartfelt thanks to the Syndicate of the Annamalai University and to the two Vice-Chancellors Rai Bahadur K. V. Reddi Naidu Garu, E. C. I. E., and Mr. M. Ruthnaswamy, E. I. E., for having permitted this publication. I offer my *pranamas* to my *ācārya Mahāmahopādhyaya* Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastriar for having gone through the Text and the Preface critically in spite of his weak health and for his Foreword. I am deeply indebted to *Śastraratnākara* K. A. Sivaramakrishna Sastriar of the Sanskrit Department of this University for having gone through all the proofs and for having given me valuable suggestions. My thanks are also due to Sri R. Sathianatha Ayyar M. A., Lecturer in History who suggested to me to look into the observations of Chinese travellers on *Pāṇini* and to Sri A. V. Nagaraja Sarma B. A., (Hon.) and Sri C. S. Venkateswaran B. A. (Hon.) of the Sanskrit Department of this University for having helped me in going through proofs.

May Lord *Natarāja* and Lord *Paśupatiśa* enable me to complete the work I have undertaken—Lectures on the whole of the *Mahābhāṣya*!

Annamalaimagar.
1-7-1943.

P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI,



LECTURES ON PATAṄJALI'S MAHĀBHĀSYA

महाभाष्यं वा पठनीयं, महाराज्यं वा पालनीयम्
ओं तमः पाणिनिकात्यायतपतञ्चलिमहिंस्यो वंशशुरभ्यो नमो गुरुभ्यः

INTRODUCTION

IT is now an accepted fact that Grammar follows Literature. The earliest Indian Literature is the Vedas. The Indians considered it their primary duty to preserve them intact. One of the means of preservation was the writing of Grammar and its study. Cf.

रक्षार्थं वेदानाम् अव्ययं व्याकरणम् (M. B. I. I. 1)

That there were nine systems of Grammar is evident from the verse

सोऽयं नवव्याकरणार्थवेता ब्रह्मा भविष्यत्यपि ते प्रसाद्रात्
(U. R. 36, 48).

wherein it is said that Hanūmān, the minister of Sugrīva, had a mastery over nine treatises on Grammar. Of them Pāṇini's treatise seems to be the last since Hanūmān is said to have studied *Saṅgraha*, an elaborate work written by *Vyādi* in hundred thousand verses based on Pāṇini's Grammar. Cf.

सपूत्रवृत्त्यर्थपदं महार्थं सपूत्रमहं साधति वै कर्पीन्दः
(U. R. 36, 46).

A grammatical treatise by Indra is mentioned in tradition to have been the first of the nine; but such a treatise does

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not seem to have been mentioned of in any work. The only reference to Indra's being connected with Grammar is found in Mahābhāṣya, where it is said that Indra attempted in vain to make a detailed study, in 1000 divine years, of all the words current, at the feet of the preceptor of the devas.

बृहस्पतिरिन्द्राय दिव्यं वर्षसहस्रं प्रतिपदोक्तानां शब्दानां शब्दपारायणं प्रोवाच,
न चान्तं जगाम । बृहस्पतिश्च प्रवक्ता, इन्दश्च अध्येता, दिव्यं वर्षसहस्रम् अध्ययन-
कालः ॥⁶

(M. B. I. 1, 1).

The revered Pāṇini wrote his work in *eight* chapters of *four* pādas, each in the form of sūtras. Sūtras are short sentences, unambiguous, clear and comprehensive. Cf.

अल्याक्षरमसन्दिधं सारवद्विश्वतोमुखम् ।
अस्तीभमनवद्यं च सूत्रं सूत्रविदो विदुः ॥

The invaluable service done by Pāṇini to Sanskrit can well be appreciated only by a close study of his work. The division of his work into two parts, the former comprising the first seven chapters and the first pāda of the last and the latter, the last three pādas of the last, is an art by itself. The sūtras of the latter part are said to be non-existent when those of the former part operate. Cf.

*It may be noted that (1) in the Foreword to *Tolkāppiyam*, the earliest extant Tamil Grammar, we find the statement "*Aintiram niraumta Tolkāppiyon*." (*Tolkāppiyap* well-versed in *Aindra*) and (2) under sūtra 74 of *collatikāram*, Cēñavaraiyar says "*Aintiranūlōr vilivērrumuriyai etṭām̄vērrumuiyōka nērtñār*" (*The author of the Aindra called the vocative case, the eighth case*).

INTRODUCTION

पूर्वत्रासिद्धन् (P. VIII 2, 1.)

His work was commented upon in an elaborate treatise consisting of 100000 verses, by Vyādi who was said by my revered guru to have been the grandson of Pāṇini. It was named *Saṅgraha*. Unfortunately the work seems to have been lost. We get only stray references to it. Cf.

सङ्ग्रहे यत्प्राधान्येन परीक्षितं नित्यो वा स्यात्कार्यो वेति ।

(M. B. L. 1, 1).

Later on, a large number of grammarians commented upon the sūtras of Pāṇini. Their works were called *Vārtikas*. They have not only elucidated the views of Pāṇini, but also added the explanation of words which became newly current in their times and rejected those that fell out of use. Cf.

उक्तानुक्तदुलक्तानां चिन्ता यत्र प्रवर्तते ।

तं अन्यं वार्तिकं प्राहुः वार्तिकज्ञा मनीषिणः ॥

It is a sad feature that the names of all of them except one are not now known to us. He is *Kātyāyana* by *Gotra* and *Vararuci* by name. It is a matter for research whether he is himself the author of the Śrāuta sūtras, *Sarvānukramanī* etc., or different from him.

Then came Patañjali who is believed by the *āstikas* to have been the incarnation of Ādiśeṣa. He wrote his Mahābhāṣya which is an elaborate treatise dealing with discussions on many of the sūtras of Pāṇini and the vārtikas of the different Vārtikakāras. It is not only a commentary on the sūtras and the vārtikas, but also a critical treatise discussing on the necessity of the above sūtras and vārtikas. He shows that some of the sūtras are not necessary and that their purpose is served by Jñāpakas. He sometimes

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disagrees with the criticism of the Vārtikakāras against Pāṇini and establishes with forcible arguments the views of Pāṇini. Cf.

सूत्रार्थे वर्णते यत्र वाक्ये: सूत्रानुसारिभिः ।
स्वपदानि च वर्णन्ते भाष्यं भाष्यविदो विदुः ॥

The method adopted by him in his arguments is very fine. He proves his point by analogy with *nyāyas* current in the world.

When there are *bhāsyas* for all śāstras, why should the *bhāṣya* of Vyākaraṇa alone be called Mahābhāṣya? This question is answered, by Bharṭṛhari and Punyarāja, the commentator on Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadiya, that it is not only a treatise on Grammar, but also the fountain-source of all *nyāyas*.

कृतेऽथ पतञ्जलिना गुरुणा तीर्थदर्शिना ।
सर्वेषां न्यायवीजानां महाभाष्ये निवन्धने ॥ (V. II 485)

तत्र भाष्यं न केवलं व्याकरणस्य निवन्धनं यावत्सर्वेषां न्यायवीजानां बोद्धव्य-
मित्यत पृष्ठं सर्वन्यायवीजहेतुत्त्वादेव महच्छब्देन विशेष्य महाभाष्यमित्युच्यते लोके
(P. II 485).

Nāgeśabhaṭṭa, the renowned all-round veteran scholar of the seventeenth century answers the same question thus:—It is not only a commentary, but also a criticism on the sūtras and vārtikas, wherein he gives his own views though they do not agree with those of the Sūtrakāra and Vārtikakāras. Cf.

व्याख्यातृत्वेऽपि अस्य इष्टव्यादिकथनेन अन्वाख्यातृत्वात् इतरभाष्यवैलक्षण्येन
महत्त्वम् (M. B. I, 1, 1.)

INTRODUCTION

The Mahābhāṣya was used to be read by orthodox Indian grammarians in the same way as the Vedāntabhāṣyas. The *sānti* that was recited at the beginning was—

वाक्यकारं वररुचं भाष्यकारं पतञ्जलिम् ।
 पाणिनिं सूत्रकारस्य प्रणतोऽसि मुनित्रयम् ॥
 योगेन चित्तस्य पदेन वाचां मले शरीरस्य च वैद्यकेन ।
 योऽपाकरोते प्रवरं मुनीनां पतञ्जलिं प्राञ्जलिग्रनतोऽसि ॥

From this it is evident that, according to tradition, Patañjali was the author of not only the Mahābhāṣya but also the Yogasūtra and a work on Indian medicine.

Some seem to doubt the identity of the author of the Yogasūtra with that of Mahābhāṣya since Vyāsa is said to be the commentator of the Yogasūtra and he is identical with the author of the Vedāntasūtras. Since there is no conclusive proof for the identity of the two Vyāsas, it may be taken that Vyāsa, the commentator on the Yogasūtra was different from the Bādarāyaṇa Vyāsa and the two Patañjalis are identical.

The study of the Mahābhāṣya was closed on the dvādaśī with *Maṅgalapāṭha* (since Pāṇini is believed to have left this world on the *trayodaśī*) and commenced again on the *dvitiyā*. On the maṅgalapāṭha day mustard and curd were offered to the three munis Pāṇini, Vararuci and Patañjali.

The Sanskrit scholars had so much regard to Mahābhāṣya that they said

महाभाष्यं वा पठनीयं, महाराज्यं वा पालनीयम्.

पस्पशाहिकम्

The sūtras found in the first pāda of the first adhyāya of Pāṇini's Astādhyāyī are discussed along with the vārtikas in nine āhnikas. The first āhnika is named *paspaśāhnika*. This name should have been at least as old as the time of Māgha since he mentions this in one of his verses in the Śiśupālavadha. Cf:

अनुत्सवपदन्यासा सद्वृत्तिः सलिलन्धना ।
शब्दविद्येव नो भाति राजनीतिरप्स्पशा ॥ (Śi. II 112)

The word पस्पशा is derived from the root स्पश् which means to refute or to touch upon. This āhnika refutes the arguments of others and touches upon the preliminaries of the śāstra. The second āhnika is named प्रत्याहाराहिक since it deals with the *pratyāhāra* sūtras अहउण्, ऋलक्, एओऽह्, etc. From the third āhnika onwards discussions on the sūtras commencing with वृद्धिरादैच् are found.

The topics dealt with in the first āhnika are (1) the commencement of the *Sāstra*, (2) the classification of words, (3) the definition of *Śabda*, (4) the use of the study of this śāstra, (5) the method to be adopted in expounding the śāstra, (6) the *nityatva* (eternity) or the *kāryatva* (transitoriness) of śabda, (7) the need for the śāstra on account of its expounding that correct words are needed for *Dharma*, (8) the meaning of the word व्याकरणम् and (9) the need for making use of the *pratyāhāra* sūtras अहउण् etc., in this śāstra.

I

अथ शब्दानुशासनम् । अथेत्यं शब्दोऽधिकारार्थः प्रयुज्यते, शब्दानुशासनं
नाम शास्त्रमधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् ॥

The expression 'अथ शब्दानुशासनम्' is a sūtra-like sentence of the Mahābhāṣyakāra and it is explained by the following sentences

अथेत्यं शब्दः अधिकारार्थः प्रयुज्यते—शब्दानुशासनं नाम शास्त्रमधिकृतं वेदितव्यम्

It means 'the *Sabdānuśāsanam* commenceth.' The *Sabdānuśāsanam* means the science wherein the derivation of words is explained.

What is the meaning of the word अथ here? Its meanings are stated by the author of *Amarakośa* thus:

मङ्गलानन्तरसम्प्रभकात्तर्येष्यतो अथ

Here it means आरम्भः (commencement). Then arises the question whether the word अथ denotes commencement or suggests it, i. e., in other words, whether the word अथ is आरम्भवाचक or आरम्भद्योतक. Kaiyata the author of the प्रदीप on महाभाष्य, and Bhaṭṭōji Dīkṣit, the author of the Siddhāntakāumudi, Manōrama, Śabdakāustubha etc., hold the former view and Nāgeśabhatta, the author of the *Uddyōta* on Mahābhāṣya holds the latter view. The authorities for Nāgeśa's view are the kārikā of Bhartr̥hari

निपाता चोतकाः केचित्पृथगर्थामिधायिनः ।

आगमा इव केऽपि स्युः सम्भूयार्थस्य वाचकाः ॥ (V. II 194)

and the भाष्य under the sūtra

अत्ययं विभक्ति समीप.....साकल्यान्तवचनेषु (P. II 1.6)

When the word अथ in 'अथातो धर्मजिज्ञासा', 'अथातो ब्रह्मजिज्ञासा' means आनन्तर्यम् (immediate succession), why should not the same word have the same meaning here? धर्मविचार invariably requires the knowledge of the Vedas and hence it

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follows the study of the Vedas. Similarly ब्रह्मविचार must invariably be preceded by the possession of four requisites :- नित्यानित्यवस्तुविवेकः (discriminating the eternal from the non-eternal), इहामृतार्थकलभोगविरागः (averseness from enjoyment here or elsewhere), शमद्भाविसम्पत् (control of the senses etc.) and मुमुक्षुत्तम् (desire to be relieved of this bondage of mortal life). Hence अथ there has to be taken to mean 'immediate succession.' But, on the other hand, the study of Grammar does not invariably need anything before it. One may doubt the veracity of this statement since the knowledge of literature is considered necessary before one begins to study Grammar. Though it is right to think so, yet he should be made to remember that it is not always the case.

If the word अथ suggests commencement, one may think that it may be discarded since the word शब्दानुशासनम् alone may suggest it. This is answered by Kātyāyaṇa thus—

अनेकक्रियाविप्रयम्यापि शब्दानुशासनम् प्रारम्भमाणता अथशब्दसत्तिधाने प्रतीयते

(The use of the word *śabdānuśāsanam* alone may enable one to interpret it as *śabdānuśāsanam śrūyatē, kriyatē* etc.) The word अथ shows that it means शब्दानुशासनमारम्भते. If one thinks that the above doubt may be cleared by the expression अधिकृतं in the विवरणभाष्य, he may be answered that the word अथ not only serves this purpose but also indicates another meaning.

It indicates auspiciousness (*maṅgala*). It has been the practice of Indian writers to invoke the blessings of God at the commencement of their work so that the work may see its end without any difficulty. This is done either by writing verses in the form of prayer or by using word or words that indicate it. Just as the sound of drums indicates

the marriage in a house, so also the word *atha* is taken to indicate *māngala* since it is considered to be one of the two words that first emanated from the mouth of *Brahmā*, the Creator. Cf.

ओकाराथशब्दवा द्रावेतौ ब्रह्मः पुरा ।
कप्तं मित्त्वा विनिर्यातौ तस्मान्माङ्गलिकावुर्मा ॥

The reason why Patañjali indicated *māngala* without actually giving expression to it in the form of prayer may be that Pāṇini, the Sūtrakāra and Vararuci, the Vārtikakāra have indicated *māngala* and not expressed it by the words शुद्धिः and सिद्ध respectively in the first sūtra शुद्धिरादैच् and the first vārtika

सिद्धे शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे लोकतोऽर्थभयुक्ते शब्दभयोगे शास्त्रेण धर्मनियमः

It was stated that the expression

अथेत्यं शब्दोऽधिकारार्थः प्रयुज्यते, शब्दानुशासनं नाम शास्त्रामधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् is विवरणभाष्यम्. The word इति is used here so that the word *atha* here means the word and not its meaning. Cf.

इतिशब्दः पदार्थविपर्यासकृत्.

When one says रामः रामणे जग्नान्, the word *Rāmaḥ* means the person Rāma; but, on the other hand, if one says

राम इति तस्य नाम

the word Rāma means the word Rāma made up of the two letters रा and म.

Since Pāṇini, the Sūtrakāra has stated in his sūtra

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स्वं रूपं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा (P. I 1, 68)

(that in his work a word means its *form* and not its *meaning*) and since the Mahābhāsyā is a work on grammar, one may think that the word 'iti' in the *Vivarana bhāshya* is not necessary. But Patañjali by his use of *iti* here suggests that Pāṇini's tenet

स्वं रूपं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा

does not hold good here.

The use of the word *ayam* after the word *iti* is to make the readers think of *atha* in the preceding sentence *atha śabdānuśāsanam* and not elsewhere as in *atha yogānuśāsanam*. Patañjali is not sparing in words. Though the word *śabda* is not necessary since the word *iti* suggests that *atha* denotes the word *atha*, he has used it so that it may be easily understood by the readers.

The word *adhikāra* means commencement. The derivation of *śabdānuśāsanam* is *śabdānām anuśāsanam* and that of *anuśāsanam* is

अनुशिष्यन्ते, असाधुशब्देभ्यो विविच्य ज्ञाप्यन्ते, साधुशब्दाः अनेन

The suffix *ana* in *śabdānuśāsanam* denotes instrument and hence the word *śabdānuśāsanam* means Grammar. The use of the sixth case in *śabdānām anuśāsanam* is on the authority of the sūtra

कर्तृकर्मणोः कृति (P. II. 3, 65)

and not उभयप्राप्तौ कर्मणि, since otherwise the samāsa *śabdānuśāsanam* would be prevented by the sūtra कर्मणि च.

Hence the sentence *atha śabdānuśāsanam* means 'the Grammar commences'. Its statement instead of *Vyā-*

karaṇaśāstrām ārabhyutē serves the following purposes : (1) *maṅgalam* is indicated by *atha* (2) *śabda* is the *viṣaya* (topic for discussion) in this work (3) the knowledge of the derivation of *śabda* by the readers is the aim of this work and (4) those who are eager to learn Grammar are fit to study it.

Readers can completely comprehend the meaning of the sentence *atha śabdānuśāsanam* only if they are fully aware of the connotation and the denotation of the words which make it up. The meaning of *atha* has been explained by the Bhāṣyakāra himself and the meaning of *anuśāsanam* is learnt from the meaning of the root *sās* which is found in the *dhātupiṭha* and the meaning of the suffix *ana* from the sūtra.

करणाधिकरणयोश्च (P. III, 3, 117).

But neither the denotation nor the connotation of *śabda* is clear to the reader. Hence Mahābhāṣyakāra goes to the next topic which deals with the classification of *śabda*.

II

केयां शब्दानाम् ? लौकिकानां वैदिकानात् । तत्र लौकिकास्तावत्, गौरशः
पुरुषो हस्ती शकुनिर्मृगो ब्राह्मण इति । वैदिकाः स्वल्पमि-शब्दो देवीरभिष्ठये ; इषे
त्वोऽन्ये त्वा ; अनिमीले पुरोहितम् ; अम् आवाहि वीतये इति ॥

Of which *śabdas*? Of those current in the world and in the Vedas. Among them the *laukika* *śabdas* are गौः (cow), अशः (horse), पुरुषः (person), हस्ती (elephant), शकुनिः (bird), मूर्गः (deer), ब्राह्मणः (brāhmaṇa) etc. The *Vaidika* *śabdas* are शब्दो देवीरभिष्ठये [Let the waters bring us happiness (so that we may perform sacrifice)]; इषे त्वोऽन्ये त्वा [(I cut) you for food and vitality]; अनिमीले पुरोहितम् (I invoke Agni, the divine priest);

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अग्न आयाहि वीतये । (Oh Agni, go over here to consume the oblations).

What is the need for this question केवं शब्दानाम् ? Kāiyāta and Nāgōji Bhaṭṭa differ in their answer on this point. The former is of opinion that since the word *śabda* denotes not only the words of human speech but also cries of birds, animals etc., Mahābhāsyakāra wants to inform the readers clearly that it denotes only speech-words here. In that case one may think that the answer मनुजशब्दानाम् would have been more appropriate. Had that answer been given, it may not make the readers understand clearly that *śabda* denotes Vāidika expressions also and it may even enable them to mistake that *śabda* denotes *upaśabdus* (incorrect expressions) also. Nāgōji Bhaṭṭa feels, on the other hand, that this question is intended to inform the readers that *śabda* here denotes not only the *lāukika śabda* but also the *Vāidika śabda*, and thus enable them to understand that Pāṇini does not deal in his grammar only with *lāukika śabdas* as in शाकटायनव्याकरणम्, nor only with *Vāidika śabdas* as in प्रातिशास्य, but with both.

Since the Vedas form part of the world, the *Vāidika śabdas* form a part of the *lāukika śabdas*. Then what is the need for the expression *Vāidikānām ca* ? The need is felt since the author wants to give prominence to the *Vāidika śabda*. The expression *Vāidikānām ca* here is similar to the expression *Vasiṣṭhōpi* in the sentence ब्राह्मणा आगतः: वसिष्ठोऽव्यागतः: (Brāhmaṇas have come and also *Vasiṣṭha*). The expression *Vasiṣṭhōpi* does not preclude *Vasiṣṭha* from being a Brāhmaṇa, but suggests that he is the Brāhmaṇa of Brāhmaṇas. The *Vāidika śabdas* are considered to be more prominent than the *lāukika śabdas*, since the latter should not be mispronounced *only in sacrifices* (याज्ञे कर्मणि) and the

former on no occasion. Or it may be taken that Mahābhāṣyakāra may have stated लौकिकानां वैदिकानां च similar to the statements of Pāṇini छन्दसि च (V. I. 61), भाषायां सद्वस्त्रुचः (III. 2. 108).

The *laukika šabdas* are illustrated by गौः, अश्वः, etc. It is worthy of note that the list of words given by Yāska in his Nirukta commences with the same words,

सत्त्वानामुपदेशः । गौरथः पुरुषो हस्तीति । (N. 1, 1,2)

The *Vaidika šabdas* are illustrated by the sentences शत्रो देवीरभिष्टये etc. This clearly shows that, in Vedas, the order of words should not be changed, that they should be pronounced with their respective *svara* and that the sentence accent is more powerful than the word accent.

The four sentences mentioned above शत्रो देवीरभिष्टये, इपे त्वोजे त्वा, अग्निमीले पुरोहितम्, अग्न आयाहि वीतये respectively represent the Atharvavēda, the Yajurvēda, the Rgvēda and the Sāma-vēda. It may be a surprise to the Brāhmaṇas to see that the order is inverted here since they have been accustomed to repeat them in a different order while they perform their *Brahmayajña*. The order that they follow then is अग्निमीले पुरोहितम्, इपे त्वोजे त्वा, अग्न आयाहि वीतये, शत्रो देवीरभिष्टये. Hence it is necessary to infer some reason or other for this inversion.

From Dharmasūtras it is plain that those that are authorised to study the Vedas have to study all the Vedas. If it is not practicable, they are allowed to study two or at least one. Cf.

वेदानधीत्य वेदौ वा वेदं वापि यथाक्रमन् ।

अविष्टुतव्यमन्वयो गृहस्थाश्रममावस्ते ॥ (M. III. 2)

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It may also be noted that there were people who studied all the four Vedas in forty-eight years. Cf.

அடிச்சாரியாகவீரி பீராண் வெந்தவந்தீம் (B.D. I. 2. 1).

அறுநான் கூட்டி ஏனைய நல்லீபான்டு
ஆரினிற் கழிப்போ வறணவில் கொள்ளக

...
@ நுபிறப் பானர் போழுதற்கு நுவல

திரு. மு. (179—82)

If one is prepared to study all the Vedas the injunction

ஸ்வாத்யாயோத்தியேतநயः

says that he should first study the Veda which was first studied by his forefathers. Otherwise he is said to become a sinner. Cf.

பாப்யாமதோ யேவா வேदஸ்பரிசுங்கணः ।
தஞ்சாவாக்ரம் குர்வீத தஞ்சாவாய்யன தथா ॥
ய: ஸ்வஶாஸ்வான் பரித்யஜ्य பாரக்யமधி஗च்஛ति ।
स शूद्रवद्वहिष्कार्यमसर्वकर्मस्यु साधुभिः ॥ (Y.)

Hence it seems to me that Mahābhāsyakāra studied the Atharvavēda first and then the Yajurvēda, the Rgvēda and the Sāmavēda. This is also supported by the fact that on another occasion when he says that students repeat the Vedas as taught to them without questioning the why of it, he mentions

ஓ இதுக்தா விதாந்தயः ஶமித்யேவமாदீன् ஶவ்வான் படந்தி (M. B. I. 1. 1)

Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Śivadatta D. Kudala, the editor of the Mahābhāṣya which was published by Tukarama Javaji writes in the foot-note under this portion that the Atharvavēda is mentioned first since the *Brahmā*, one of the four principal priests of a sacrifice, is to be conversant with all the Vedas and he should know how to avert difficulties both from within and from without, for which the knowledge of the Atharvavēda is necessary. Since अञ्चर्युः is mentioned immediately after *Brahmā* the Yajurvēda is mentioned next and since the *Sūma* is based upon ऋक्, the Rgvēda is mentioned next. He gives also an alternative explanation that the Atharvavēda is mentioned first since it is stated in *Muṇḍakopaniṣad* that *Brahmā* first taught his eldest son *Atharva*, the *Brahmavidyā*. Cf.

ब्रह्मा देवानां प्रथमं सम्भूतं विश्वस्य कर्ता मुवनस्य गोपा,
स ब्रह्मविदां सर्वविद्याप्रतिष्ठामर्थर्वाय ज्येष्ठपुत्राय प्राह ।

शब्दो देवीरभिष्टये which is generally stated to represent the Atharvavēda is only the first ṛk of the sixth sukta in the first *kāṇḍa* of the Atharvavēda ; while

ये त्रिपत्ताः परियन्ति विश्वा रूपाणि विभ्रतः ।
वाचस्पतिर्विला तेषां तन्वोऽत्य दधातु मे ॥

happens to be the first ṛk of the first sūkta in the Atharvavēda. I am unable to understand why शब्दो देवीरभिष्टये is preferred to ये त्रिपत्ताः परियन्ति, though इये त्वोऽत्य त्वा, अग्निर्मले पुरोहितम् अग्न आयाहि वीतये are at the commencement of the Yajurvēda, the Rgvēda and the Sāmavēda respectively.

Having thus dealt with the denotation of the word *śabda*, Mahābhāṣyakāra begins to deal with its connotation.

III

अथ गौरित्यत्र कः शब्दः । किं यत्तसाक्षालाङ्गूलककुदखुरविषाण्यर्थं
स शब्दः । नेत्याह, इत्यं नाम तत् । यत्तर्हि तदित्तिं चेष्टितं निभितमिति स
शब्दः । नेत्याह, किया नाम सा । यत्तर्हि तत् गुणो नीलः कपिलः कपोत इति
स शब्दः । नेत्याह, गुणो नाम सः । यत्तर्हि तद्विदेष्वभित्रं छिन्नेष्वच्छित्रं सामान्य-
भूते स शब्दः । नेत्याह, आकृतिर्नाम सा । कस्तर्हि शब्दः । येनोऽवासितेन
साक्षालाङ्गूलककुदखुरविषाणिनां सम्पत्ययो भवति स शब्दः; अथवा प्रतीतपन्नार्थको
लोके ध्वनिः शब्द इत्युच्यते । तद्यथा, शब्दं कुरु, मा शब्दं कार्पीः, शब्दकार्यं
माणवकः, इति ध्वनि कुर्वन्नेवमुच्यते । तस्मात् ध्वनिः शब्दः ।

Now, when one says गौः, what is *śabda*? Is it the object which has the dew-lap, tail, hump, hoof, horns etc.? No, he says, it is called *dravya*. Is it then its gesture, movement or winking? No, he says, it is called *kriyā* or action. Is it then the whiteness, blueness, brownness, or greyness? No, he says; it is called *guṇa*. Is it then the sum-total of the qualities like *sattū* which ever exists even when the individuals are broken or destroyed? No, he says, it is called *ākṛti*. Then what is *śabda*? *Śabda* is that on whose manifestation the correct knowledge of the object which has dew-lap, tail, hump, hoof, horns etc., is produced; or, the sound which has a decisive meaning is said to be *śabda* in the world. It is clear from the fact that he who makes noise is told thus: 'Make *śabda*!', 'Do not make *śabda*', 'This student is a maker of *śabda*'. Hence *dhvani* is *śabda*.

When a word like गौः is pronounced, the following concepts appear in the mind of the hearer:—the species cow, her action, her qualities, genus cow, the shape of the cow—and also the word made up of *g*, *au* and *visargu* strikes his ear. The hearer begins to doubt whether on pronouncing गौः the

sabda refers to the species cow, her actions etc. It may seem absurd to some to think so since the species cow, her qualities etc., are seen by the eyes and the word गौः is heard by the ear. But since the relation of शब्दः and अर्थः, गुणः and गुणिन्, क्रिया and क्रियावान् in Sanskrit is identity according to the Sanskrit grammarians and there is a rule तद्भिन्नाभिन्नस्य तद्भिन्नत्वम्, it is quite natural to think so. Mahābhāṣyakāra says that they are not the connotation of *sabda* and the true connotation is स्फोटः—that, which, when manifested, enables the hearer to have a clear knowledge of the object cow.

Is it not then the sound that strikes the ear? At first he says 'no' for the following reasons:—In words made up of more than one letter, if one letter is capable of giving the sense of the whole word, the other letters are unnecessary. If, on the other hand, the whole made up of all letters is considered to be capable of giving the sense, it is not possible to have the whole pronounced at the same time. Hence the Sanskrit grammarians say that every letter that is pronounced makes an impression in the mind and the sum-total of the impressions made by all the letters of the word suggest the sense. Hence *sabda* is not what we hear, but it is that which is manifested in the mind after the whole word is pronounced.

It may be useful in this context to mention that the Sanskrit grammarians state that *sabda* is of four phases:—परा, (*parā*), पश्यन्ती, (*paśyanti*), मध्यमा, (*madhyamā*) and वैक्षरी (*vaiķhārī*), *parā* being that phase of the शब्दव्याप्ति, the undifferentiated primordial sound manifested at मूलाधार, or sacral plexus, *paśyanti* being that phase which is manifested at the navel and which is cognisable to yōgins, *madhyamā* being that phase which is manifested at the heart and *vaiķhārī* being that phase which is manifested

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out of the vocal organs as the articulated sound. These four phases are clearly suggested by the following *Rk* mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya* and the following *kārikā* found in Bharṭṛhari's *Vākyapadiya* :—

चत्वारि वाक्परिमिता पदानि तानि विदुर्बाणिणा ये मनीषिणः ।

गुहा त्रीणि निहिता नेत्रस्थन्ति तुरीयं वाचो मनुष्या वदन्ति ॥

(M. B. I. 1. 1.)

वैस्वर्या मध्यमायाश्च पश्वन्त्याश्चैतद्भुतम् ।

अनेकतीर्थभेदायास्त्रया वाचः परं पदम् ॥ (V. I. 144).

Nāgōji Bhāṭṭa says that the definition

येनोचारितेन सामालाङ्गूलककुदखुरविपाणिनां सम्पत्यो जायते स शब्दः

applies to *madhyamā* and the definition प्रतीतपदार्थको च्छनिः शब्दः applies to *vāikhari*. Cf.

व्यनिपदेनात्र वैस्तरी, एकोट्पदेनाभिव्यक्तकत्वादिको मध्यमावस्थ आन्तरः शब्द उच्च्यते
Even though that

येनोचारितेन सामालाङ्गूलककुदखुरविपाणिनां सम्पत्यो जायते स शब्दः

is the true definition of a word, yet *Mahābhāṣyakāra* suggests another definition also which is current in the world.

The statements शब्दं कुरु, मा शब्दं कार्यीः, शब्दकार्यं माणवकः are taken by Kāiyata to be विधिः (injunction) निषेध, (prohibition), and वस्तुस्थितिकथनम् (statement of actual fact). But all the three may be pronounced with the same purpose to silence a noisy boy. There is no doubt that in that case शब्दं कुरु and शब्दकार्यं माणवकः will have to be pronounced in a particular tone, the former in a sarcastic tone and the latter in a complaining tone. If one begins to question why he should give expression to three sentences which have the same

meaning, the answer is that Mahābhāṣyakāra takes pleasure in such statements :—*Cf.*

धर्माय नियमः, धर्मर्थो वा नियमः, धर्मप्रयोजनो वा नियमः
वृत्तये समवायः, वृत्त्यर्थो वा समवायः, वृत्तिप्रयोजनो वा समवायः (M.B. I. 1—1.)

The word *atha* in अथ गौरित्यत्र कः शब्दः introduces the question गौरित्यत्र कः शब्दः; hence Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa says पृच्छयते इति शेषः। यत्तत् is used in the sense of यत्. The use of the neuter in यत्तत् and the use of the masculine in सः is sanctioned by the statement

उद्दिश्यमानप्रतिनिर्दिश्यमानयोरेकत्वमापादयन्ति सर्वनामानि पर्यायेण तलिङ्गमुपाददते । (K. I. 1. 1.)

The statement मित्रेष्वभित्रम् suggests the oneness and the all-pervasiveness and छित्रेष्वच्छित्रम् suggests the perpetuity.

The word सामान्यभूतम् is taken by Kāyaṭa in the sense सामान्यमिव. But since the word सामान्य here denotes सत्ता the व्यापकज्ञातिः, and आकृतिः is the व्याप्तज्ञातिः and there can be no comparison between two things that are व्यापक and व्याप्त, Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa takes it to mean सामान्यस्वरूपम्, and he quotes a similar use of *bhūta* in Mahābhāṣya प्रमाणभूत आचार्यः, (I. 1. 3.) in support of his interpretation.

The word आकृतिः here means not only genus, but also shape. Wherever Mahābhāṣyakāra deals with the word आकृतिः, he takes it in both the senses. Cf.

आकृतिहि नित्या द्रव्यमनित्यम् . . . द्रव्यं हि नित्यम्, आकृतिरनित्या (M.B. I. 1. 1)
आकृतिप्रहणात्सिद्धम् . . . ल्पसामान्याद्वा (M.B. I. 1. 2.)

The authority for his taking shape also to be the sense of आकृति is the sūtra of Gāutama व्यक्त्याकृतिज्ञातयः पदार्थः, (II. 2. 63).

The meaning of उच्चारितेन is अभिव्यक्तेन (by that which is manifested). उच्चरितेन is another reading. It is found in the स्फोटसिद्धि of Ācārya Mañdana Miśra published by the University of Madras.

IV

Unless one is informed of the advantages to be derived from doing a thing, one is not generally inclined to do it.*

So the question arises

कानि पुनः शब्दानुशासनस्य प्रयोजनानि ?

What then are the advantages derived from the study of grammar and what is the authority that enjoins it? Here the word शब्दानुशासनस्य, though it means 'of grammar,' should be taken to mean 'of the study of grammar' (शब्दानुशासनाध्ययनस्य).

The word प्रयोजनानि means not only 'the benefits' but also 'the authorities that enjoin' (प्रयोजकानि). In both the meanings the derivation of the word प्रयोजनम् is प्रयुज्यते अनेन. Kātyāyaṇa under this line says

कि सन्ध्योपासनादिवृत् व्याकरणान्वयनं नित्यं कर्म अथ काम्यमिति प्रभः

It means that the question is whether the study of grammar is a *nitya-karma* like morning and evening ablutions (*sandhyōpāsana*) or *kāmya-karma*. *Nitya-karma* is that, the performance of which is not considered to bear positive fruit and the non-performance of which is considered to produce demerit. *Kāmya-karma*, on the other hand, is that,

* प्रयोजनमनुहित्य न मन्दोऽपि प्रवर्तते ।

(Even a fool does not attempt a thing for nothing).

the performance of which bears the *desired* fruit and the non-performance does not bring any demerit.

The above question is answered thus :—

रक्षोहागमलघ्वसन्देहः प्रयोजनम्

The advantages are (1) रक्षा [protection (of the Vedas)], (2) लघुः [modification (of Vedic mantras)], (3) लघु [easy means (of acquiring the knowledge of words)], and (4) असन्देहः (absence of ambiguity) and the authority is आगमः (Vedas).

It is worthy of note that the compound word रक्षोहागमलघ्वसन्देहः is in the plural and the word प्रयोजनम् is in the singular. Such a usage is sanctioned by the statement एकवच्च अस्य अन्यतरस्याम् (its use in singular is optional) in the sūtra

नपुंसकमनपुंसकैकवचास्यान्यतरस्याम् । (P. I. 2. 69).

रक्षा—

रक्षार्थं वेदानामध्येयं व्याकरणम् । लोपागमवर्णविकारजी हि सम्पन्नेदान्परिपालविष्टर्तीति ॥

To protect the Vedas, grammar is to be studied. For, only he who has a correct knowledge of the elision, the augmentation and the substitution of sounds is thoroughly capable of preserving the Vedas intact. For instance, in the Vedic expression देवा अदुह् (gods milked), the regular form अदुहन् is replaced by अदुह् where त् has been elided and र् has been augmented. Similarly in the expression उद्ग्रामे च निश्रामे च (V. S. 17, 64) म् is substituted for ह्.^{*} One who is not conversant with the rules of grammar which sanction such usages may have a tendency to correct them.

* This is according to the descriptive grammar; for according to the historical grammar ह् had म् as one of its sources.

ऊहः खल्वपि—

न सर्वीर्लक्ष्मै च सर्वाभिर्विभक्तिभिवेदं मन्त्रा निगदिताः । ते चावश्यं यज्ञगतेन पुरुषेण यथायथं विपरिणमयितव्याः, तात्त्वैवियाकरणः शक्तोति यथायथं विपरिणमयितुम् । तस्मादध्येयं व्याकरणम् ।

Modification also (is one of the advantages). Mantras are not mentioned in the Vedas in all genders and cases. They have to be necessarily modified by the priest in a sacrifice according to the context (i.e.) to suit the particular god or gods invoked. It is not possible for a non-grammarians to suitably modify them. Hence is the need to study grammar.

For instance there is a mantra अग्ने त्वा जुष्टं निर्वपामि (V. S. I. 13. 2) in the Yajurveda. It is evident that this mantra should be pronounced when the deity to be invoked is *Agni*. If one is eager of getting ब्रह्मवर्चसम् (lustre of Brahman), there is an injunction that the oblation must be offered to the sun. Cf.: सौर्यं च ह निर्धेष्ट ब्रह्मवर्चसकामः । In that case the word अग्ने will have to be replaced by the word सूर्याय. This is possible only if he knows that the dative case singular of सूर्ये is सूर्याय. Hence the knowledge of ऊह is necessary for the correct performance of Vedic ceremonies. From this one can understand that ऊह helps the यजमान or the sacrificer to reap the desired fruit and the कृत्विक् or the priest to become happy through the fee he is paid for officiating as priest. Nāgoji Bhatta seems to think of the latter alone. Cf.

ऊहजस्य हि आर्तिज्यलभेन द्रव्यमाप्तिहारा एऽहिक्षुसंसिद्धिः कलमिति वोध्यम्

आगमः खल्वपि—

ब्राह्मणेन निष्कारणो धर्मः पड़ुगो वेदोऽन्येयो ज्ञेयश्च । प्रधानं च पड़ुगो एव व्याकरणम् । प्रधाने च कृतो यज्ञः फलवान्मवति ॥

Agama also [forms a प्रयोजनम् (प्रयोजकम्)].

Vēda with six *aṅgas* shall be studied and understood by a Brāhmaṇa without expecting any reward. Of the six *aṅgas*, grammar is important. Effort directed towards the prominent bears rich fruit.

The word ब्राह्मणेन suggests that the study of grammar is a *nitya-karma* to Brāhmaṇas and a *kāmya-karma* to others. The word कारण in निष्कारणः means not cause, but fruit. The six *aṅgas* are शिल्पा (Phonetics), व्याकरणम् (Grammar), शब्दः (Prosody), निष्कल्पम् (Vedic interpretation), ज्योतिषम् (Astronomy) and कल्पः (The made-easies for the performance of rituals).

Grammar is said to be important since, without its study, one is not capable of understanding the meaning of sentences.

The word *āgama* has been taken to mean *vēda* and hence the word *prayōjana* has to be interpreted as *prayōjaka*. Since *āgama* means also *study* and it is used in that sense by Mahābhāṣyakāra himself (आगमकालेन I. 1. 1.) and the study of Vyākaraṇa is considered to be a *nitya-karma* to Brāhmaṇas, it seems to me to be worthy of consideration whether Mahābhāṣyakāra intends that the study of Vyākaraṇa for its own sake is *one* of the *prayōjanas*.

लघु—

लघुर्थं चाध्येयं व्याकरणम् । ब्राह्मणेनावश्यं शब्दा ज्ञेया इति । न चान्तरेण
व्याकरणं लघुनोपायेन शब्दाः शक्या विज्ञातुम् ।

For easy grasp of words is grammar to be studied. Words should necessarily be understood by Brāhmaṇas. There is no easy means of learning words other than grammar.

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If the paradigm of one noun is known, the case-forms of similar nouns are also known and hence there is no need to get by heart the forms of all nouns. Similarly if the conjunctival forms of one verb is known, those of similar verbs are also known.

असन्देहः—

असन्देहार्थं चाप्यव्यये व्याकरणम् । याजिकाः पठन्ति—स्थूलपृष्ठतीमामिवारुणी-
मन्दवाहीमालमेत इति । तस्यां सन्देहः—स्थूलं चासौ पृष्ठती च स्थूलपृष्ठती,
स्थूलनि वा पृष्ठन्ति यस्याः सेयं स्थूलपृष्ठतीति । तां नावैवाकरणः म्वरतोऽन्यवस्थयति—
यदि पूर्वपदभक्तिस्वरत्वं ततो बहुव्रीहिः, अथ समासान्तोदातत्वं ततस्तत्पुरुष इति ॥

For the absence of ambiguity is grammar to be studied. Mantras dealing with sacrifices are read thus :—

Tie to the stake to propitiate *Agni* and *Vuruna* a cow which is स्थूलपृष्ठती. Here is the doubt whether the word स्थूलपृष्ठती means 'stout and spotted,' or 'having big spots.' The correct meaning cannot be understood by a non-grammarians from its *svara*. If it has the *udātta* at the usual place of the first member of the compound, it should be taken as *bahuṛihi* when, it means 'having big spots'; if, on the other hand, it has the *udātta* at the final syllable, it should be taken as *latpuruṣa* when, it means 'stout and spotted.'

Having dealt with the advantages of the study of grammar in a general way, Mahābhāsyakāra enumerates them in detail. Kāriyaṭa says :

"Having mentioned the important benefits, he mentions those that are accessory."^{*} Nāgōji Bhaṭṭa explains that they

* मुह्यानि ग्रयोजनानि प्रदद्यानुपश्चिकाणि प्रदर्शयति

are important because they are intended to get a knowledge of words and their meanings and the others are accessory since they deal with incorrect words and the usage of words in proper places etc.*

इमानि च भूयः शब्दानुशासनस्य प्रयोजनानि—तेऽसुराः । दुष्टः शब्दः । यदधीतम् । वस्तु प्रयुक्ते । अविद्वांसः । विभक्ति कुर्वन्ति । यो वा इमाम् । चत्वारि । उत त्वः । सकृतुमिव । सासम्बरीम् । दशम्यां पुत्रम्य । सुदेवो असि वस्तु । इति

These also are the benefits to be accrued by the study of grammar, तेऽसुराः etc.

The expression तेऽसुराः etc., are generally at the commencement of some Vedic texts which are explained in detail below. They are thirteen in number.

तेऽसुराः—

तेऽसुरा हेऽल्यो हेऽल्य इति कुर्वन्तः परावभवुः । तस्माद् ब्राह्मणेन न म्लेच्छतवै, नापमापितवै, म्लेच्छो ह वा एष यदपशब्दः । म्लेच्छा मा भूमेत्यव्येचं व्याकरणम् । [तेऽसुराः] †

Those *asuras* pronouncing *hēlayah hēlayah* were baffled in their attempt. Hence no *mleccha* word is to be pronounced by a *Brahmaṇa*; (*i.e.*) no word not sanctioned by grammar is to be pronounced; *mleccha* means word which is not sanctioned by grammar. In order that we may not become *mlecchas* (the users of corrupt words), grammar is to be studied.

* तेषां प्रधानतवै च पदपदार्थशानाधीनत्वेनान्तराजात् । वस्त्रमाणानां च बहिरङ्गशब्दापशब्द-प्रयोगविधिनिरेषविधियत्वादानुयाह्निकत्वं वौच्यम् ।

† ते असुराः indicates that the topic dealing with it is closed. The same method is followed in दुष्टः शब्दः etc.

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The expression हेऽल्यो हेऽल्यः is the incorrect one that is referred to. The mistakes here are according to some, the non-use of *pluta* and *prakrtibhāva* (i.e.) हेऽल्यो हेऽल्यः should have been pronounced as हे ३ अल्यः हे ३ अल्यः. Others think that the correct form is हे हे अल्यः.*

On considering the use of the word म्लेच्छतवै it appears that the statement

तेऽसुरा हेऽल्यो हेऽल्य इति कुर्वन्तः परावर्मवुः । तस्माद् ब्राह्मणेन न म्लेच्छतवै ।

is a quotation from some previous work.[†] The expression न म्लेच्छतवै is explained by Mahābhāsyakāra by न अपभाषितवै. The reason for such an interpretation is said that the word म्लेच्छः is freely used to denote ungrammatical word or expression. The word म्लेच्छः may also mean 'censured beings.' Bhartrhari in his *Pradīpikā* says that तेऽसुराः ... is an *arthavāda* and म्लेच्छा मा भूम् means, according to some, मा पराभूम्.

दुष्टः शब्दः ।

दुष्टः शब्दः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा भिद्याप्रयुक्तो न तर्मथमाह ।

स वामज्ञो वनमानं हिनस्ति यथेन्द्रशब्दः स्वरतोऽपराधात् ॥ इति

दुष्टान् शब्दान् मा प्रयुक्तमहीत्यच्छेयं व्याकरणम् [दुष्टः शब्दः]

Word that is incorrectly pronounced either from the standpoint of *svara* (accent) or *varṇa* (letter) gives the non-desired meaning and hence is not able to convey the desired

* तत्र केचिदाहुः “हैहेप्रयोगे हैहयोः” इति प्र्युते प्रकृतिभावे च कर्तृव्ये तदक्षरणं म्लेच्छनमिति । पदद्विवेचने कार्ये वाक्यद्विवेचनं लवं च म्लेच्छनमित्यपरे ।

Cf. । हेऽल्यो हेऽल्य इति वदन्तः परावर्मवुः ... तस्माद् ब्राह्मणो म्लेच्छेत्

Satapatha III. 2, 1, 23 & 24).

meaning. It serves as speech-thunderbolt and brings out the ruin of the sacrificer as the word इन्द्रशत्रुः which was pronounced with a wrong accent. In order that we may not use wrong words, grammar is to be studied.

The allusion referred to is this :—Vṛtra, an asura, wanted to bring forth a son who could kill Indra, his foe. So he performed a sacrifice in which he pronounced the *mantra* इन्द्रशत्रुवर्घस्व which means 'may you, *Indraśatru* flourish.' Here the word इन्द्रशत्रुः is capable of giving two meanings:—the slayer of Indra and one who could be slain by Indra. If it should convey the former meaning, the last syllable is to be accented and if it is the latter, the word इन्द्र should be accented in its usual place. Vṛtra wanted only the slayer of Indra. But, while pronouncing the mantra, he pronounced the word इन्द्रशत्रुः in hot haste by accenting it on the first syllable of the word *Indra*. The result was that he got a son who could be slain by Indra.

This stanza seems to be an adaptation of the following stanza found in the पाणिनीयशिक्षा :

मन्त्रो हीनः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा मिथ्याप्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह ।

स वाच्चो यजमाने हिनस्ति यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात् ॥

A doubt may arise why the incorrect pronunciation of words should bring out the destruction of the *sacrificer* and not the *officiating priest* though it is the latter who actually mispronounces the word. Since the priest is only paid for it, neither the gain accrued by the correct pronunciation, nor the loss accrued by the incorrect pronunciation is considered to affect him.

The enumeration of तेऽसुरः and दुष्टः शब्दः is to make the Brāhmaṇas realise that, if they are ignorant of grammar,

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they will be disqualified to officiate as priests in sacrifices. If, in spite of their ignorance, they are chosen, they will be instrumental in bringing ruin to the sacrificer who chooses them.

यदधीतम्—

यदधीतमविज्ञातं निगदेनैव शब्दते ।
अनग्राविष शुष्कैषो न तज्जलति कर्हनित ॥
तस्मादनर्थकं माधिर्गीष्महीत्यच्येयं व्याकरणम् [यदधीतम्] ।

That which is studied (at the feet of the preceptor) and is often repeated as was taught by him without its meaning being understood does not shine (*i.e.* is of no practical utility) like dry fuel thrown on ashes. In order that we may not study anything without advantage, the knowledge of grammar is necessary.

From this it is evident that there is no use of studying anything without understanding its sense. Much more is it so with respect to the study of the Vēdas. That Mahābhāṣyakāra cites this only with special reference to the study of the Vēdas is seen from the fact that this stanza with a slight modification forms the supplement, in Nirukta, to the stanza

स्थाणुरयं भारहारः किलभृदेधीत्य वेदं न विजानाति योऽर्थम् ।
योऽर्थज्ञ इत्सकलं भद्रमश्नुते नाकमेति ज्ञानविघृतपापमा । (N. I. 6. 2.)

It means this :—He who studies Vēda without knowing its meaning is evidently a pillar serving as rest for loads ; but, on the other hand, he who understands the meaning gets all kinds of happiness and reaches Heaven after having his sins removed with his knowledge.

The Nirukta reading is यदगृहीतम् instead of यदधीतम्.

यस्तु प्रयुक्ते—

यस्तु प्रयुक्ते कुशलो विशेषे शब्दान्यथावद् व्यवहारकाले ।
सोऽनन्तमाप्नोति जयं परत्र वास्योगविद् दुष्टति चापशब्दैः ॥

The learned grammarian who uses the right word in the right place gets unbounded success elsewhere, while the other man (the non-grammarian) fares ill by the use of incorrect words.

Mahābhāṣyakāra evokes a discussion on the *subject* of the verb दुष्टति. The पूर्वपक्ष is that वास्योगवित् which immediately precedes दुष्टति is its subject and the सिद्धान्त is that अवास्योगवित् is understood before दुष्टति and it alone can form its subject. The discussion runs as follows :—

कः—Who ?

वास्योगविदेव—Evidently the grammarian !

कुत एतत्—On what authority is this ?

यो हि शब्दान् जानाति अपशब्दानप्यसौ जानाति; यथैव हि शब्दज्ञाने धर्मः
एवम् अपशब्दज्ञानेऽपि अधर्मः । अथ वा भूयानर्थमः प्राप्नोति—भूयोऽपशब्दाः,
अल्पीयांसः शब्दाः, एकैकस्य हि शब्दस्य बहवोऽपशंशाः । तथथा—गौरित्यस्य शब्दस्य
गावी गोणी गोता गोपोतलिका इत्येवमादयो अपशंशाः ॥

For he who knows the correct words knows also incorrect ones. As merit accrues with the knowledge of correct words, demerit also accrues with that of incorrect words. Or, the greater becomes the demerit since the incorrect words are greater in number ; for every correct word is mispronounced in many ways ; for instance the correct word गाँ (which denotes cow) is mispronounced in many ways like गाची, गोणी, गोता, गोपोतलिका etc. (It must be borne in mind that the word गोणी when it means a sack is correct).

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अथ योऽव्याख्योगवित् ? — Then what about the non-grammarians?

अज्ञानं तस्य शरणम्—Ignorance is his resort.

विषम उपन्यासः । नात्यन्ताय अज्ञानं शरणं भवितुमर्हति । यो शजानन् वै ब्राह्मणं हन्यात् मुरां वा पिवेत्, सोऽपि मन्ये पतितः स्यात् ।

Illogical is the argument. Ignorance cannot completely serve as a resort. He who murders a Brāhmaṇa, or who drinks liquor without knowing that either brings forth sin is, I think, a sinner.

एवं तर्हि, सोऽनन्तमाप्नोति जयं परत्र वायोगवित् ; दुष्यति चापशब्दैः ।

(Here it must be understood that he reads it in such a way as to stop after वायोगवित् so that it may be taken as the subject of आप्नोति in the previous line).

If so सोऽनन्तम् … … … … अपशब्दैः ।

कः ? Who ?

अवायोगविदेव—Evidently the non-grammarian.

अथ यो वायोगवित् ? Then, what about the grammarians ?

विज्ञानं तस्य शरणम्—Knowledge is his resort.

क युनसिदं पठितम्—Is there any book where this is said ?

आजा नाम श्लोकाः—The ślōkas named *bhrāja*.

किं च भोः श्लोका अपि प्रमाणम् ? Oh sir, do *ślōkas* also stand as authority ?

किं चातः ? What if ?

यदि श्लोका अपि प्रमाणम्, अयमपि प्रमाणं भवितुमर्हति—

यदुदुम्बरवर्णानां धटीनां मण्डलं महत् ।

पीतं न गमयेत्क्वर्गं किं तत्क्रतुगतं नयेत् ॥ इति

If *ślōkas* also stand as authority, this *ślōka* which means—when jars of red liquor drunk cannot lead to Heaven, how can a drop of the same drink in sacrifices do it?—also may serve as authority.

प्रमत्तगीत एष तत्रभवतः This is the expression of the revered when he is not in right mood,

यस्तु अप्रमत्तगीतस्तत् प्रमाणम्, [यस्तु प्रयुक्ते]. That which is said when he is in right mood is an authority.

The sentence क पुनरिदं पठितम्? means क एष यत्र पुनरिदं पठितम्? The *ślōkas* named *bhrāja* are ascribed to *Kātyāyana*. Kāiyāta says that, though this verse in question (यस्तु प्रयुक्ते) is one among *bhrāja* *ślōkas*, it is still taken to be authority since it agrees in meaning with the Vedic text 'एकः शब्दः सम्यग्वातः सुप्तु प्रयुक्तः स्वर्गे लोके कामधुरभवति.'

He again says that दुष्यति is taken to be the predicate of अवारयोगवित् and not वारयोगवित् on the authority of the maxim प्रकरणात् सामर्थ्यं बलीयः (*Capacity to qualify* is stronger than *proximity*); here the word प्रकरण means only सम्बन्धि (proximity) (i.e.) the word दुष्यति is capable of being taken only with अवारयोगवित् though the word वारयोगवित् is near it.

From this it is evident that one gets all happiness only when he is capable of using the right word in the right place. This suggests that only such persons will be chosen to officiate as priests. This can be done only with the knowledge of grammar. Hence grammar helps Brāhmaṇas to get fees in the sacrifices and success elsewhere.

अविद्वांसः—

अविद्वांसः प्रलयमिवादे नान्मो ये न प्लुतिं विदुः ।

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कामं तेषु तु विप्रोप्य स्त्रीनिवायमहं बदेत् ॥

अभिवादे स्त्रीवन्मा भूमेत्यव्येयं व्याकरणम् [अविद्वांसः]

Those illiterate persons who do not know that *pluti* (the use of three *mātrās*) must be made use of while blessing a man who prostrates, must be prostrated in the same way as women after one returns to his place after some time and he told by him that he is such by name. Grammar is to be studied lest we should be treated like women in *abhirūdana*.

From this we learn that knowledge of grammar is needed to keep up one's dignity as a learned Brāhmaṇa.

विभक्ति कुर्वन्ति—

याज्ञिकाः पठन्ति “प्रयाजाः सविभक्तिकाः कार्याः” इति ।

न चाल्तरेण व्याकरणं प्रयाजाः सविभक्तिकाः शक्याः कर्तुम् ।

[विभक्ति कुर्वन्ति]

Chapters dealing with sacrifices read that the *prayāja* mantras should be recited with the proper cases. But for the knowledge of grammar, it is not possible to do.

Prayājas are the subsidiary *hōmas* in the *Darśapūrṇamāsa* sacrifice. It is a duty enjoined by the Vēdas to be performed by a house-holder in the same way as *sthālipāka* enjoined by the Smṛtis to be performed by the same person. Even though the mantras for *prayāja* hōmas are completely read, yet he is allowed to perform an *isti* if the *yajamāna* is attacked of stomach-ache after *adhāna* or meets with a great disaster within a year, where the deity to be invoked is *Agni*. Hence while performing it, he is to change the mantras in such a way as to suit it.

This is the same as the ऊह mentioned before. Hence it is clear that the second set of *prayōjanas* mentioned is quotation from previous author or authors.

यो वा इमाम्—

यो वा इमां पदशः स्वरशोऽस्वरशश्च वाचं विदधाति, स आविजीनो भवति।
आविजीनाः स्याम इत्यथेयं व्याकरणम्। यो वा इमाम् ॥

He who is capable of pronouncing the mantras correctly with respect to words, accent and letters is fit to become a sacrificer or to officiate as priest in sacrifices. Grammar is to be studied so that we may be qualified to become priests or to perform sacrifices.

The word आविजीनः means a sacrificer if it is split as क्रत्विजमर्हति on the strength of the sūtra यज्ञत्विरभ्यां शब्दबो (P.). It means a priest if it is split as क्रत्विकर्म अर्हति on the strength of the Vārttika यज्ञत्विरभ्यां तत्कर्महितीत्युपसङ्गस्यानम्.

This is also more or less the same as mentioned in यस्तु प्रयुडक्ते कुशलो विशेषे etc.

चत्वारि—

चत्वारि शृङ्गां त्रयो अस्य पादां द्वे शीर्षे सप्त हस्तासो अस्य ।
त्रिधा बद्धो वृषभो रोरवीति महो देवो मर्ला आविवेश ॥ इति

चत्वारि शृङ्गाणि—चत्वारि पदजातानि, नामास्त्वातोपसर्गनिपाताश्च । त्रयो अस्य पादाः—त्रयः कालाः, भूतभविष्यद्वृत्तमानाः । द्वे शीर्षे—द्वौ शब्दालानौ, नित्यः कार्यश्च । सप्त हस्तासो अस्य—सप्त विमक्त्यः । त्रिधा बद्धः, त्रिषु स्थानेषु बद्धः, उरसि काठे शिरसीति । वृषभो, वर्षणात् । रोरवीति, शब्दं करोति । कुत एतत् ! रैतिः शब्दकर्मा । महो देवो मर्ला आविवेशोति—महान् देवः, शब्दः; मर्लाः, मरणधर्माणो मनुप्याः; तान् आविवेश । महता देवेन नः साम्यं यथा स्यात् इत्यथेयं व्याकरणम् ॥

The *Vṛṣabha* which has four horns, three feet, two heads and seven hands and which is bound in three places cries

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that the Great God entered the mortals. The four horns—the four parts of speech—noun, verb, *upasarga* (preposition) and *nipāta*. Its three feet—the three tenses, past, future and present. Two heads—the two kinds of *śabdu*, *nitya* (eternal) and *kārya* (non-eternal). Its seven hands—the seven cases. It is bound three-fold—It is bound at three places—chest, neck and head. The word *vṛṣabha* is derived from the root *vṛṣ* (वृष्). The word रोत्वीति means 'makes noise.' Whence is it? The root रु means to make noise. The Great God entered the mortals—the Great God is *sabda*; the word मर्त्याः literally means mortals and hence men; He entered them. Grammar is to be studied so that we may become one with the Great God.

महो देवः here refers to शब्दब्रह्म. It has already been mentioned that Indian Grammarians recognise four phases of speech-sound, of which परा is considered to be *nitya* and the other three पद्यन्ती, मध्यमा and वैखरी are *kārya*. The word पद्जातानि in the Bhāṣya text refers, in the opinion of Nāgōji Bhaṭṭa, to the four phases of speech-sound, since, otherwise च at the end नामास्त्वातोपसर्गनिपाता: cannot be appropriate. But from the following reading of Nirukta चत्वारि पद्जातानि नामास्त्वाते चोपसर्गनिपाताश्च I think Mahābhāsyakāra also may have had the same reading. Though *upasargas* are only *nipōtas* at a particular setting, yet they have been mentioned following the maxim called गोवलीवर्द्धन्याय. साम्यम् is interpreted by Nāgōji Bhaṭṭa to refer to सायुज्यम् on the strength of the *Kārika* of Bhartr̥hari.

अपि प्रयोक्तुरालानं शब्दमन्तरवस्थितम् ।
प्राहुर्भान्तमृष्टम् येन सायुज्यमिष्यते ॥

The *Rk* चत्वारि शृङ्गा...is the third *Rk* in the 58th Sūkta of the fourth maṇḍala in Rgveda. Sāyaṇācārya, in his Bhāṣya,

says that since the presiding deity of this *Rk* is one of five deities, this *Rk* is interpreted in five ways: Cf.

सूक्ष्मस्य अनिसूर्यादिपञ्चदेवतात्मकत्वात् पञ्चधा अयं मन्त्रो व्याख्येयः । तथापि निरुक्ताच्च करीत्या यज्ञात्मकान्मेः सूर्यस्य च प्रकाशकत्वेन तत्परतया व्याख्यायते

The same *Rk* is commented upon in Yāska's Nirukta XIII, 1-7. The expression चत्वारि, Mahābhāṣyakāra says, is taken by others to refer to the following *Rk*. This clearly shows that this set of *prayōjanas* was in vogue long before the time of Mahābhāṣyakāra.

अपर आह—

चत्वारि वाक्परिमिता पदानि तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः ।
गुहा त्रीणि निहिता नेत्रयन्ति तुरीयं वाचो मनुष्या वदन्ति ।

चत्वारि वाक्परिमिता पदानि—चत्वारि पदानातानि, नामास्त्र्यातोपसर्गनिपाताश्च । तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः । मनस ईषिणो, मनीषिणः । गुहा त्रीणि निहिता नेत्रयन्ति, गुहायां त्रीणि निहितानि नेत्रयन्ति, न चेष्टन्ते, न निमिषन्तीत्यर्थः । तुरीयं वाचो मनुष्या वदन्ति । तुरीयं वा एतद्वाचो यन्मनुष्ये पुर्वते चतुर्थमित्यर्थः ॥ चत्वारि ॥

Others say:—

There are four kinds of speech-sound, which are seen by those Brāhmaṇas who have controlled their mind. Three of them are not cognizable since they are inside the body. Men speak out only the fourth.

The four kinds of speech-sound—the four kinds are noun, verb, *upasarga* and *nipāta*. They are seen by *maniśins*—*maniśins* are those who have controlled their mind.

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Three do not exhibit themselves being kept in *guhā*—three are kept in *guhā*—the meaning of नेत्रयन्ति is, they do not operate (*i.e.*) exhibit. Men speak out the fourth—that which is among men is the fourth phase of the speech-sound.

The same *Rk* is commented upon in Yâska's Nirukta XIII. 1. 9., where चत्वारि पदानि is explained thus :—

चत्वारि पदानि ओकारो महाव्याहृत्यथेत्यार्थं, नामास्त्वाते च उपसर्गनिपाताश्च
इति वैयाकरणाः, मन्त्रः कल्पो ब्राह्मणं चतुर्थो व्यावहारिकीति याज्ञिकाः, कठो यजुंपि
सामानि चतुर्थो व्यावहारिकीति नैरुक्ताः | etc.

It means this :—

The four padas are, in the opinion of seers, *pranava* and three *vyâhrtis*; they are, in the opinion of grammarians, noun, verb, *upasarga* and *nipâta*; etc.; according to sacrificers they are *mantra*, *kalpa*, *brâhmaṇa* and the fourth that is in vogue; they according to Nâiruktas, are *Rk*, *yajus*, *Sâman* and those that are in vogue. It appears as the 45th *Rk* in 164th Sûkta of the first Mañdala in Rgvîda. Sâyaṇa in his commentary mentions in addition to what has been mentioned in Nirukta,

अपरे मान्त्रिकाः प्रकारान्तरेण प्रतिपादयन्ति परा पश्यन्ती मध्यमा वैखरीति
चत्वारि ।

Other *mûntrikas* think that the four are (परा, पश्यन्ती, मध्यमा and वैखरी). Nâgôji Bhâṭṭa explains पदज्ञातानि thus :—परापश्यन्ती-
मध्यमावैखर्यः नामादीनि च। He seems to have added परापश्यन्ती-
मध्यमावैखर्यः since it is said that three of them are not cognizable and since it was recognised by grammarians that, of the four phases of speech-sound, परा, पश्यन्ती and मध्यमा are not cognizable to those other than Yôgins.

उत त्वः—

उत त्वः पश्यन् दर्शि वाच मुतलः शृण्वन् शृणोत्येनाम् ।

उतो त्वस्मै तन्वं विसक्षे जायेव पत्य उशती सुवासाः ॥

अपि स्वल्पेकः पश्यन्नपि न पश्यति वाचम्, अपि स्वल्पेकः शृण्वन्नपि न शृणोत्येनाम्; इति अविद्वांसमाह अर्धम्। उतो त्वस्मै, तन्वं विसक्षे—तनुं विवृणुते। जायेव पत्य उशती सुवासाः—तथा, जाया पत्ये कामयमाना सुवासाः स्वमालानं विवृणुते। एवं वाग् वाम्बिदे स्वात्मानं विवृणुते। वाङ्मो विवृणुयादात्मानम् इत्यन्येयं व्याकरणम् ॥ उत त्वः ॥

One, though he sees *vāk* (speech), does not see her ; one, though he hears her, does not hear her. Thus the first half of the stanza speaks of one who is not learned in grammar. She discloses her body to some one in the same way as a lady opens herself to her husband when she is in clean dress and wants his company. So speech opens herself to the grammarian. In order that *vāk* may open herself to us, grammar is to be studied.

The word उत means 'though' and the word त्वः means 'one.' The expression पश्यन्नपि न पश्यति वाचम् means 'though he sees, he does not see speech.' The word उत qualifies पश्यन् and not त्वः. The expression अपि स्वल्पेकः शृण्वन्नपि न शृणोत्येनाम् means 'though one hears, he does not hear her.' The word तन्वम् is the earlier form of तनुम् (which means body). The word विसक्षे means 'discloses.' The expression जायेव पत्ये उशती सुवासाः means 'it is like the wife who, being in clean dress and eager to meet her husband, opens herself. The word आत्मानं may here be taken to mean both *mind* and *body*. (The body and mind of *vāk* is evidently her *meaning*). It is clear that the latter half of the stanza speaks of the learned grammarian.

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The word त्वः in two places and त्वस्मै in the latter half suggest that one in, say, hundred takes to study grammar, one in, say, thousand studies to understand it, and one in, say, ten thousand or so is able to completely master it.

The word सुवासा: suggests, as is stated in Yāska's Nirukta, that she is in her *rtukāla*. *Rtukāla* is the period of sixteen days beginning with the commencement of her monthly period and it, excluding the first three or four days, is considered to be the period of conception. It deserves to be noted that the injunction कर्तौ उपेयात् (one should meet his wife in *Rtukāla*) found in Dharmasūtras is taken to be a *niyama-vidhi* for those who have not given birth to a son; (*i.e.*) if they do not meet their wives in that period, they will meet with demerit.

This *Rk* "उत त्वः...सुवासाः" is found in the Rgveda as the fourth *Rk* in the 71st sūkta of the 10th Maṇḍala. In commenting upon it Sāyaṇācārya explains the following words thus :—

पश्यन्नपि—मनसा पर्यालोचयन्नपि
न ददृशे—दर्शनफलाभावात् पश्यति
उशती—सम्भोगं कामयमाना

The same *Rk* is commented upon in Nirukta (I. 6. 3) thus :—

अथेकः पश्यते पश्यति वाचम्। अपि च शृणुत्येनाम् इत्यविद्रांस-
माहार्थम्—अथेकस्मै तन्वं विसत्ते इति स्मात्मानं विवृणुते ज्ञानं प्रकाशनमर्थस्याहानया
वाचोपमोत्तमया वाचा जायेव पल्ये, कामयमाना कर्तुकालेषु सुवासाः कल्याणवासाः
कामयमाना कर्तुकालेषु । यथा स एनां पश्यति स शृणुत्यर्थजप्रशंसा ॥

सक्तुमिव—

सक्तुमिव तितउना पुनन्तो यत्र धीरा मनसा वाचमकत ।
अत्रा सखायः सख्यानि जानते भद्रैयां लक्ष्मीनिहिताधिवाचि ॥

सक्तुः सचतेदुर्धारो भवति, कसतेर्वा विपरीताद्विकसितो भवति । तितउ परिपवनं भवति—ततवद्रा, तुच्छवद्रा । धीरा:—ध्यानवल्तः । मनसा—प्रज्ञानेन । वाचमकत—वाचमकृपत । अत्रा सखायः सख्यानि जानते—अत्र सखायः सन्तः सख्यानि जानते । कः । य एष दुर्गो मार्गः एकगम्यो वाचिपद्यः । के पुनस्ते? वैयाकरणः । कुत एतत्? भद्रैयां लक्ष्मीनिहिताधिवाचि—एषां वाचि भद्रा लक्ष्मीनिहिता भवति । लक्ष्मीलक्षणाद्वासनात्परिवृद्धा भवति ॥ सक्तुमिव ॥

Where learned men sift correct words from incorrect ones through knowledge as people the flour of barley meal through sieve, there they, being friends of words or having unblemished knowledge throughout are able to see the true meaning; for the propitious Goddess Lakṣmī resides in their speech.

The word सक्तुः is derived from the root स्त्र् and hence literally means that which can be cleaned only with difficulty. Or it is derived from the root कस्, has by metathesis, assumed this form and means 'that which is spread.' The word तितउ means 'sieve' and it is so since it is wide or perforated. The word धीरा: means 'learned men.' The word मनसा means 'through knowledge.' The expression वाचमकत means 'made words' (*i.e.*) sifted correct words from incorrect ones. In the expression अत्रा सखायः सख्यानि जानते the word सन्तः is understood after सखायः. अत्र is lengthened to अत्रा for the sake of metre. Where? (*i.e.*) to which place does the word अत्र refer? That which is difficult of access and which can be achieved only through speech. Who are they? (*i.e.*) to whom does the word सखायः refer? Grammarians. Why is

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it so? For the propitious Goddess Lakṣmī resides in their speech. The word Lakṣmī is derived from the root *lakṣ* which means to shine and hence she becomes the lord.

This *Rk* is found in the R̄gvēda as the second *Rk* of 71st sūkta of the 10th Māṇḍala and it is commented upon in Yāska's Nirukta (IV. 2. 1 & 2). The expression सख्यायः सख्यानि जानते is interpreted in different ways. Sāyañacārya gives two interpretations :—(1) They possessing the knowledge of the *sāstra* are able to understand the contents of the *sāstra* correctly. (2) They being friends, get the fruits to be obtained by the knowledge of speech.

सख्यायः समानस्वानानाः शास्त्राद्विषयज्ञानाः, ते सख्यानि तेषु भवानि ज्ञानानि जानते जानन्ति, यद्ग सख्यायः वाचा यद्गस्त्वयाः ... सख्यानि जानन्ति वाक्ययुक्तानभ्युदयान् लभन्ते ॥
(Sāyaña).

Durgācārya, the commentator on Nirukta interprets it thus: they having the same knowledge as others are able to gauge the merits of their partners. Cf.

समानस्वानानामेव समानेषु शास्त्रेषु कृतश्रमाणां ... सख्यानि — विज्ञानानि ... इतरंतरस्य यो विज्ञानप्रकर्षः, ते जानते ॥

Nāgōjī Bhāṭṭa, on the other hand, interprets it thus :—They knowing that everything is Brahman become one with Brahman. Cf.

सख्यायः समानस्वानातयः समानज्ञानाः तच्छब्दे ब्रह्मैकत्वज्ञानवन्तस्तेनैव दृष्टान्तेन सर्वपदर्थेषु ब्रह्मनिरूपिताभेदज्ञानवन्तः सख्यानि सायुज्यानि जानते प्राप्नुवन्तीत्यथः ॥

Nāgōjī Bhāṭṭa is of opinion that the *rks*

चत्वारि शृङ्गाः ... चत्वारि वाक्यरिमिता पदानि, उत त्वः and सकुमिव show that the study of grammar enables one to attain *mokṣa*.

सारस्वतीम्—

याजिका: पठन्ति—“आहितानिरपशब्दं प्रयुज्य प्रायश्चित्तीयां सारस्वतीमिदि निर्विपेदिति”। प्रायश्चित्तीया मा भूमेत्यथेऽन्यं व्याकरणम् ॥ सारस्वतीम् ॥

Scriptures dealing with sacrifices read thus:—If a householder performing *agnihōtra* mispronounces a word, he will have to perform an expiatory ceremony (*isti*) called *sārasvatī isti*. In order that we may not be put to the necessity of performing expiatory ceremonies, grammar is to be studied.

दशम्यां पुत्रस्य—

याजिका: पठन्ति—“दशम्युत्तरकालं पुत्रस्य जातस्य नाम विद्याद् वोपवदाद्यन्तरन्तःस्थमवृद्धं त्रिपुरुषानुकमनरिपतिष्ठितम् । तद्दि प्रतिष्ठितमं भवति । द्वयकरं चतुरकरं वा नाम कृतं कुर्यात् तद्दितम्” इति । न चान्तरेण व्याकरणं कृतस्तद्विता वा शक्या विजातुम् ॥ दशम्यां पुत्रस्य ॥

Scriptures dealing with sacrifices read thus:—

On the day following the tenth from the birth of a son*, a name should be given to him. The name should have for its initial a voiced letter, should have the semi-vowels in the middle, should not have a *vrddhi* letter as the first of its vowels, should have been current within three generations and should not be one very popular among his enemies' families. Only such a name enables him to have long life, success in life etc. It should contain two or four letters, should be made of a stem and a primary suffix and not a secondary suffix. Without the knowledge of grammar one does not know whether a suffix is primary or secondary. A

* This is the meaning given by the Mahābhāṣyakāra to the expression दशम्यां पुत्रस्य found in Dharmasāstras.

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study of Dharmasūtras enables one to understand that the expression द्वयश्चरं चतुरश्चरं वा is उपलक्षण and should be taken to mean even number of letters.

It should be noted here that the names of men should contain even number of letters and those of women should contain odd number of letters. Since Mahābhāsyakāra repeats the opinion of Dharmasutrakāras that a word should not have its first vowel a *vṛddhi* letter, is it possible to assume that the names like रामः, नारायणः were not given to men in his time or before him?

मुदेवो असि—

मुदेवो असि वरुण यस्य ते सप्त सिन्धवः ।
अनु क्षरन्ति काकुदं सूर्यं सुषिरामिव ॥

• मुदेवो असि, वरुण, सत्यदेवोऽसि । यस्य ते, सप्त सिन्धवः, सप्त विमत्तयः अनुक्षरन्ति काकुदम् । काकुदं तालु—काकुर्विंश्च, सा अस्मिन्नुद्यत इति काकुदम् । सूर्यं सुषिरामिव । तथा शोभनामृमे सुषिरामनिस्तः प्रविद्य दहति, एवं ते सप्त सिन्धवः सप्त विमत्तयः ताल्बनुक्षरन्ति । तेनासि सत्यदेवः । † सत्यदेवाः स्यामेत्यद्येयं व्याकरणम् ॥ मुदेवो असि ॥

Oh *Varuṇa*! you are a true God since the seven oceans (of cases) spit out of your palate like fire through the holes from within a perforated iron image.

मुदेवो असि means सत्यदेवोऽसि । Your seven oceans are the seven cases. The word काकुदम् means palate. The word काकुः means tongue. Since the tongue acts upon the palate,

† सत्यदेवः स्याम् is another reading. Considering म्लेच्छा मा भूम्, दुष्टान् शब्दान् मा प्रयुक्ष्महि ... सत्यदेवाः स्याम् is the better reading.

it is called काकुवम्. Just as fire from within a perforated well-made iron image spirits out, so also the seven case-oceans spirit out of your palate. Hence you are *satyadēva*. Grammar is to be studied so that we may become *satyadēvas*.

This *Rk* is the 12th *Rk* of the 58th sūkta of the eighth Mandala in Rgveda. Sāyanācārya in his commentary takes the word सिन्धवः to mean rivers. The same *Rk* is commented upon in Nirukta V. 4-9.

किं पुनरिदं व्याकरणमेवाविजिगांसमानेभ्यः प्रयोजनमन्वास्त्वायते, न पुनरस्य-
दपि किञ्चित् ? ओम् इत्युक्त्वा वृत्तान्तशः* शमित्येवमादीन् शब्दान् पठन्ति ॥

Why is the enumeration of benefits accruing from the study of Vyākaranam alone made and not from that of any other (like the study of the Vēdas etc.)? They say 'om' and begin to repeat chapter by chapter the Vēdic words commencing from शम्.

पुरा कल्प एतदासीत्—संस्कारोत्तरकालं वाक्षणा व्याकरणं स्माधीयते। तेभ्यस्त-
तत्स्थानकरणनादानुभद्रानजेभ्यो वैदिकाः शब्दा उपदिश्यन्ते । तदचत्वे न तथा ।
वेदमधीत्य त्वरिता वक्तारो भवन्ति वेदालो वैदिकाः शब्दाः† सिद्धाः, लोकाच्च लौकिकाः,
अनर्थकं व्याकरणमिति । तेभ्य एवं विप्रतिपलबुद्धिभ्योऽव्येतुम्यः सुहृद् भूत्वा आचार्य
इदं शास्त्रमन्वाचष्टे इमानि प्रयोजनान्यत्रयेण व्याकरणमिति ॥

* Annambhatta in his *udhyotana* says that the correct reading is वृत्तान्तम् and it governs पठन्ति so that it means thoroughly (i.e.) in such a way that they can be pronounced without another's help. Cf.

वृत्तान्तमिति किपाविशेषणम्, स्वाधीनोचारणमेतम् यथा भवति तथा पठन्तीत्यर्थः । एतेन 'वृत्तान्तं शमित्येवमादीन्' इति भाष्यपाठः प्रामाणिकः, 'वृत्तान्तशः...' इति शास्त्रपाठः प्रामाणिक इति हेयम्.

Bhartṛhari in his Prādīpikā seems to have preferred वृत्तान्ततः to वृत्तान्तशः Cf. तत्राचादित्वात्तस्मिः...अन्येषां वृत्तान्तशः इति पाठः and takes that वृत्तान्त means प्रपाठक.

† The word शब्दाः is omitted in some editions.

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This was in the old *Kalpa* that the Brāhmaṇas studied grammar after their *upanayana*. The Vēdas were then taught to them who had a knowledge of the place of production and the effort, internal and external, of sounds. But now it is not so. After studying the Vēdas, they hasten to become teachers thinking that, since they know Vēdic words from the study of the Vēdas and the *lāukika* words from their contact with the world, the study of grammar is unnecessary. The Ācārya (Mahābhāsyakāra) out of affection towards such scholars with wrong notions, narrates this portion containing the benefits accruing from the study and hence the need of the study of Grammar.

उक्तः शब्दः । स्वरूपमप्युक्तम् । प्रयोजनान्यप्युक्तानि ॥

(The classification of) word has been said; its definition has been given and the benefits have been narrated.

V

शब्दानुशासनमिदानीं कर्तव्यम् । तत्कथं कर्तव्यम्, कि शब्दोपदेशः कर्तव्यः, आहोस्ति अपशब्दोपदेशः, आहोस्ति उभयोपदेशः इति !

S'abdānuśāsana is now to be expounded. How should it be done? Is a list of correct words to be given, or a list of incorrect words; or both?

अन्यतरोपदेशेन कृतं स्यात् । तथा मध्यनियमेन अमध्यप्रतिषेधो गम्यते—
 “पञ्च पञ्चनस्वा भक्ष्याः”¹ इत्युक्ते गम्यत एतद् अतोऽन्ये अमध्या इति । अमध्य-
 प्रतिषेधेन वा मध्यनियमः; तथा “अमध्यो ग्रान्थकुवकुटः, अमध्यो ग्रान्थत्वकरः”
 इत्युक्ते गम्यत एतद् ‘आरण्यो भक्ष्यः’ इति । एवमिहापि—यदि तावच्छब्दोपदेशः

Cf. भक्ष्याः श्वाविद्गोथावाशवाशाल्पकक्ष्यपत्रहाराः लक्षणवर्जाः पञ्चनस्वा: (Bödh. Dhārma. 1—5, 131), and (Mahābhārata, s'ānti. 141, 70).

कियते, गौरि येतस्मिन्नुपदिष्टे, गम्यत एतद्वाच्यादयोऽपशब्दाः इति । अथाप्यपशब्दोपदेशः
क्रियते, गाव्यादिषु उपदिष्टेषु, गम्यत एतद् 'गौरिल्येष शब्दः' इति ॥

It is done by *either* method. From the injunction restricting the eatables, the non-eatables are inferred—when the injunction "Eat five five-clawed animals" is pronounced, it is inferred that all but those five animals are non-eatable. Similarly from the injunction restraining the non-eatables, the eatables are inferred. When the injunction 'Do not eat the domestic cock and the domestic pig' is pronounced, it is inferred that the wild cock and boar may be eaten. Similar is the case here also; if the list of correct words like गौः is given, it is inferred that गार्वी etc., are incorrect and if, on the other hand, the list of incorrect words like गार्वी etc., is given, it may be inferred that गौः etc., are correct words.

NOTE 1. पञ्च पञ्चनवा भक्ष्याः—Is this अपूर्वविधिः, नियमविधिः or परिसङ्कृत्याविधिः? Since there is always a craving for every one to eat anything and hence even without this injunction one may eat the flesh of the five five-clawed animals, it is not अपूर्वविधिः like त्रीहीन् प्रोक्षति.

Cf. Kāiyāṭa's statement न त्वयं विधिः, अप्राप्तेरभावात्.

It may be taken as परिसङ्कृत्याविधिः like इमामगृणन् रक्षनामृतस्य इत्यश्वामिधानीमावत्ते, since by this injunction one is prevented from tasting the flesh of animals other than these five. Still Mahābhāṣyakāra takes it to be a नियमविधिः since it also wards off one from doing what is not mentioned there.

Cf. Nāgōjibhaṭṭa's statement

पाक्षिकाप्राणिकाप्रासांशपरिपूरणफलो नियमः । अन्यनिवृत्तिफला च परिसङ्कृत्येति चेत् । नियमेऽप्यप्रासांशपरिपूरणरूपफलवोवनद्वारा अर्थादन्यनिवृत्तेः सत्त्वेन अमेदमाश्रित्योक्तेः ॥

NOTE 2. From Nāgōjibhaṭṭa's statement

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ये तु पञ्चपदस्य तदतिरिक्ते लक्षणा, भक्ष्यपदस्य च अभक्ष्ये सा

it is clear that some scholars took पञ्च to mean 'other than five' and भक्ष्याः to mean अभक्ष्याः; Nāgōjibhaṭṭa refutes them. Among many reasons cited in support of his view, the most important is the statement of Mahābhāsyakāra himself

भक्ष्यनियमेन अभक्ष्यप्रतिवेदो गम्यते

कि पुनरत्र ज्यायः ! लघुत्वात् शब्दोपदेशः—लघीयान् शब्दोपदेशः ; गरीयान् अपशब्दोपदेशः ; एकैकस्य शब्दस्य वहवोऽपञ्चशाः, तदथा — गौरित्यस्य शब्दस्य गावी गोणी गोता गोपोतलिका हत्येवमादयोऽपञ्चशाः । इष्टान्वास्त्वानं स्वल्पपि भवति ।

Which is better? The enumeration of the correct words (is better) since it is easier—The enumeration of correct words is easier and that of incorrect words is longer; for every correct word, there are many corrupt forms. For instance the corruptions of the word गौः are गावी, गोणी, गोता, गोपोतलिका etc. We also have (another advantage of) the direct enumeration of the words that we require.

NOTE 3. The second reason given above suggests that the list of corrupt forms cannot enable us to understand the correct form of a word.

अथैतमिन् शब्दोपदेशो सति कि शब्दानां प्रतिपत्तौ प्रतिपदपाठः कर्तव्यः, गौः, अश्वः, पुरुषः, हस्ती, शकुनिः, मृगः, ब्राह्मणः इत्येवमादयः शब्दः पठितव्याः ! नेत्याह, अनन्युपाय एष शब्दानां प्रतिपत्तौ प्रतिपदपाठः । एवं हि श्रूयते—‘बृहस्पति-निद्राय दिव्यं वर्षसहस्रं प्रतिपदोत्तानां शब्दानां शब्दपारायणं’ प्रोवाच, नान्ते जगाम । बृहस्पतिश्च प्रवक्ता, इन्द्रश्च अन्येता, दिव्यं वर्षसहस्रम् अव्ययनकालः, न चान्ते जगाम । कि पुनरचल्वे? यः सर्वव्याचिरं जीवति स वर्षशतं जीवति ; चतुर्भिर्श्च प्रकौरविद्या उप-

* शब्दपारायणं नाम ग्रन्थः (Pradipikā). शब्दपारायणशब्दः...शास्त्रवेशोवै (Pradipa)

युक्ता भवति आगमकालेन, स्वाध्यायकालेन, प्रवचनकालेन, व्यवहारकालेन इति । तत्र
च अत्य आगमकालैनैव आयुः कृत्स्नं* पर्युपयुक्तं स्यात् । तस्मात् अनभ्युपायः शब्दानां
प्रतिपत्तौ प्रतिपदपाठः ॥

When it has thus been decided that the list of correct words is to be given, there arises the question whether an inventory of all available correct words should be taken. Are we to enumerate words like गौः, अश्वः, पुरुषः, हस्तीः, शकुनिः, मृगः, ब्राह्मणः etc.? 'No' says he, 'for such a list is not an easy means to learn correct words.' Thus runs a story in scriptures—Brhaspati (the preceptor of the gods) taught Indra the work called *S'abdapurāyana* containing all available correct words for thousand divine years, but could not exhaust it; Brhaspati is the teacher, Indra is the student, the period of instruction is thousand divine years and still it was not possible to come to an end. When such is the case, how is it possible now? He who, after all, lives longest, lives hundred summers; *Vid्या* is used in four ways in a man's life-time; it is learnt at the feet of the guru, it is revised, it is taught to a student and it is made use of in practical life (as in sacrifices etc.). If one attempts to learn at the feet of a guru the list of all correct words, his whole life-time will be used only in learning. Hence *pratipadapātha* is not an easy means to get at the knowledge of correct words.

कथं तर्हि इमे शब्दाः प्रतिपत्तव्याः ! किञ्चित् सामान्यविद्योपच्छाणं प्रवर्त्यम्,
येन अल्पेन यत्नेन महतो महतः शब्दौशान् प्रतिपेशन् ॥

How then are the correct words to be learnt? Some work formulating general and special rules should be written

* The word कृत्स्नम् is not found in some editions.

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so that people can with a little effort learn the vast ocean of words.

किं पुनस्तत् ! उत्सर्गप्रवादै—कथिदुत्सर्गः कर्तव्यः कथिदप्रवादः । कथं-
जातीयकः पुनल्लसर्गः कर्तव्यः कथंजातीयकोऽप्रवादः । सामान्येनोत्सर्गः कर्तव्यः, तदथा
‘कर्मण्यै’; तस्य विशेषणप्रवादः, तदथा ‘आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः’ ॥

What is it? General rules and exceptions: some general rule is to be formulated and some exception. How is the general rule to be framed and how the exception? General rule which is to apply to things in general, like कर्मण्यै is to be read and so are exceptions to apply to some special things among them like आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः:

NOTE. The sūtra कर्मण्यै means that, if in a compound the verb is preceded by the object which qualifies it, the suffix अ॒ follows the verb; आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः means that, if the verb mentioned above ends in आ and is not preceded by a preposition, it takes the suffix कः.

VI

Having thus decided that Grammar formulating general rules and exceptions is necessary to enable one to understand correct words, Mahābhāṣyakāra discusses briefly whether the meaning of words is जाति (genus) or व्यक्ति (species) and whether the words are *nitya* or *kārya*.

किं पुनराकृतिः पदार्थः, आहोस्तित् द्रव्यम् ? उभयमित्याह । कथं ज्ञायते ?
उभयथा आचार्येण सूत्राणि पठितानि । आकृतिं पदार्थं मत्वा ‘जात्यास्त्यायमेकस्मिन्
बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम्’ इत्युच्यते । द्रव्यं पदार्थं मत्वा ‘सरूपाणामेकशेष एकविमक्तौ’
इत्येकशेष आरम्भते ॥

Does a word connote genus or species? ‘Both’ says he. How is it? For, sūtras conceding both the views are written

by the Ācārya (Pāṇini). The sūtra 'जात्यास्यायामेकस्मिन्...' is read on the idea that the connotation of the word is *genus* and the sūtra 'सहपाणाम्...' is read on the idea that it is *individuality*.

NOTE. It is worth noting that *genus* cannot exist without *vyakti* and the *latter* cannot without the former. Still there are two classes of schools, one holding that word connotes only *genus* and *vyakti* comes along with it, and the other holding that word connotes only *vyakti* since the former cannot exist away from the latter. But the Ācārya Pāṇini clearly shows in his work that he holds both the views, one in one context and the other in another.

कि पुनर्निल्यः शब्दः, आहोम्बिकार्यः ? सङ्ग्रहं पत्वाधान्येन परीक्षितम्—
निल्यो वा स्यात् कार्यो वेति । तत्रोक्ता दोषाः, प्रयोजनान्यपुक्तानि । तत्र त्वेष निर्णयः—
यदेव^० नित्यः अथापि कार्यः, उभयथापि लक्षणं प्रवर्त्यम् इति ॥

Is *sabda nitya* or *kārya*? This was examined in detail in the work *Saṅgraha* whether *sabda* is eternal or non-eternal. Merits and demerits on both sides were mentioned. This is the conclusion arrived at there, that, irrespective of *sabda* being *nitya* or *kārya*, grammar is to be written.

NOTE. *Saṅgraha* is a work written by Vyādi in 100,000 verses. It is unfortunate that the work is almost lost. Mahābhāṣyakāra has already suggested that, if *sabda* refers to *sphōṭa*, it is *nitya* and that, if it refers to *dhvani*—the sound that is produced by the vocal organs—it is *kārya*.

* एवम् is another reading.

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Cf. येनोच्चरितेन साक्षात्लाङ्गूलकुदखुरविषाणिनां सम्बन्धयोः भवति स शब्दः ,
अथवा प्रतीतपदार्थको लोके व्यजिः शब्दः ॥

VII

Having now decided that व्याकरणम् should be written, Mahābhāsyakāra may have dealt with the topic—the meaning of व्याकरणम्. Without doing it, he deals with the purpose served by व्याकरण. The reason for doing so is that he wants to observe in the discussion of topics, the order followed by the Vārttikakāra, since his *Bhāṣya* is an elaborate commentary on not only Pāṇini's sūtras but also on Kātyāyana's vārttikas.

कथं पुनरिदं भगवतः पाणिनेशाचार्यस्य लक्षणं प्रवृत्तम्^{*}

How has the Acārya Pāṇini proceeded in his work?

This serves as an introduction to the first *vārttika* which runs as follows :—

सिद्धे शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे लोकतोऽर्थप्रयुक्ते शब्दप्रयोगे शास्त्रेण धर्मनियमः, यथा
लौकिकवैदिकेषु ॥

When word, its meaning and their relation (or word and the relation with its meaning) are learnt to be *nitya* from the world and word is used only in such meanings as are current there, the śāstra enjoins (the use of correct words) for the sake of *dharma* as in the case of incidents, *lāṅkika* and *vaidika*.

* Prabhat Chandra Chakravarti translates this in the Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. I, 1925 thus.—Why, again, the grammatical treatise of the venerable Pāṇini has been made? (If words are held to be eternal, what is the use of grammar?) Since the previous sentence is उमयपाणि लक्षणं प्रवृत्तम्, the legitimate question that follows is, what doctrine Pāṇini holds in his work. This is clear from Kātyāyaṇī's statement किमान्वार्य एव लक्षणं शब्दार्थसम्बन्धलाम् अथ स्मर्ता इति प्रश्नः

Here Mahābhāsyakāra deals in detail with the meanings of (1) सिद्धः, (2) अर्थः and (3) धर्मः and elucidates the expressions लोकतः and लौकिकवैदिकेषु and takes लोकतः twice, once along with शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे and once with अर्थप्रयुक्ते.

सिद्धं शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे—

सिद्धे शब्देऽर्थे सम्बन्धे चेति

Here Mahābhāsyakāra suggests that the *vigraha* of शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे is शब्दश्च अर्थश्च सम्बन्धश्च एतेषां समाहारः, शब्दार्थसम्बन्धम्, तस्मिन्।

अथ सिद्धशब्दस्य कः पदार्थः ? नित्यपर्यायवाची सिद्धशब्दः । कथं ज्ञायते ? यत्कृतम्येषु अविचालिषु भावेषु वर्तते ; तथाच, सिद्धा यौः, सिद्धा पृथिवी, सिद्धमाकाशम् इति ।

Now what is the meaning of the word सिद्ध ? It is the synonym of the word *nitya*. How is it so ? Since it is used along with objects which do not move and which do not change. Ex. सिद्धा यौः (the Heaven is nitya), सिद्धा पृथिवी (the earth is nitya) and सिद्धमाकाशम् (the sky is nitya).

NOTE. The expressions सिद्धा यौः etc., are not based upon the conception that यौः, पृथिवी etc., are eternal, but upon the conception that they are relatively permanent.*

Mahābhāsyakāra then quotes instances where the word सिद्ध means अनित्य.

ननु च भोः कार्येष्वपि वर्तते ; तथाच—सिद्ध ओदनः, सिद्धः सूपः, सिद्धा यवागः इति । यावता कार्येष्वपि वर्तते, तत्र कुत एतत्तित्यपर्यायवाचिनो भ्रणम्, न मुनः

* Cf. Nāgōjibhāṭṭa's statement

भावे आवाप्तिव्याप्तिपि व्याप्तिव्याप्तिभिप्राप्तेण दण्डनित्यम्, आकाशस्यापि व्याप्तिव्याप्तिभित्यम् ॥

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कार्ये यः सिद्धशब्दं इति ॥ सङ्ग्रहे तवत् कार्यपतिद्रन्दिभावान्मन्यामहे नित्यपर्याय-
वाचिनो भ्रष्टमिति ; इहापि तदेव ॥

Oh Sir, the word सिद्ध is used also in connection with transient objects; Ex. सिद्ध ओदनः (Food is ready); सिद्धः सूः (Dhal is ready); सिद्ध यवागुः (the yavāgū preparation is ready). Since the word is used in connection with transient objects also, how can it be said that it means *nitya* and not *kārya*? Since the word is used in the Saṅgraha as antonym to *kārya*, we infer that it means *nitya* there; so also here.

Since the word is used in Saṅgraha as an antonym to *kārya*, it is but right that it means *nitya* there. Since there is no criterion here to decide its meaning one way or the other, Mahābhāṣyakāra suggests another way to come to the same conclusion.

अथवा सन्त्येकपदान्यपि अवधारणानि । तत्रथा—अवभक्षो वायुभक्ष इति, अप
एव भक्षयन्ति, वायुमेव भक्षयति इति गम्यते; एवमिहापि सिद्ध एव, न साध्य इति ॥

Or even single words have the restrictive sense. Ex. अवभक्षः and वायुभक्षः. They respectively mean, 'one who feeds himself *only* on water' and 'one who feeds himself *only* on air.' Similarly the word सिद्ध here means *only* सिद्ध and not *sādhyā*.

The defect that underlies this explanation is this. The words अवभक्षः and वायुभक्षः are compound words, while the word सिद्ध is a single word. In splitting the compound the word एव which denotes restriction may be brought in. Such is not the case with single words. Hence Mahābhāṣyakāra tries to explain it thus.

अथवा पूर्वेपदलोपोऽन द्रष्टव्यः—अत्यन्तसिद्धः सिद्ध इति ; तत्रथा देवदत्तो
दत्तः, सल्यभामा नामा इति ॥

Or it may be considered that a word which preceded सिद्ध has been dropped, its original form being अत्यन्तसिद्ध in the same way as दत्तः is the shortened form of देवदत्तः; and भासा of सत्यभासा.

The defect that underlies this explanation is this. In the case of the words दत्तः and भासा standing respectively for देवदत्तः and सत्यभासा, it should be noted that देवदत्तः and सत्यभासा are mentioned at the first instance and only later on for the sake of brevity दत्तः and भासा are used.* The same is not the case here. Besides there is nothing to suggest that the word सिद्ध is used here to denote अत्यन्तसिद्ध.

Hence Mahābhāsyakāra suggests the final solution thus :—

अथवा व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिः न हि सन्देहादलक्षणम् इति, नित्यपर्यायवाचिनो ग्रहणमिति व्याख्यास्यामः ॥

If so, we explain that the word सिद्ध means नित्य since a text cannot be thrown away on the ground that it is not clear. Its correct sense should be understood from the commentaries or the interpretation given by the commentators.

किं पुनरनेन वर्णेन ? किं न महता कठेन नित्यशब्दं प्रवोपातः, यमि-
न्तुषादीयमानेऽसन्देहः स्यात् ?

Why should he give room for this kind of interpretation ? Why should he not, with his open mouth, have given expression to the word *nitya*, when there would be no ambiguity ?

* Cf. न तु अनुचारितस्य ऐवदत्तशब्दस्य पाणिनिस्त्रो वा कठिकत् समर्थो लोपं कर्तुम्
(Bhartṛhari's Pradīpikā.)

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मङ्गलर्थम् । माङ्गलिक आचार्यो महतः शास्त्रौषस्य मङ्गलार्थं सिद्धशब्दमादितः प्रयुक्ते । मङ्गलार्थानि हि शास्त्राणि प्रथन्ते, वीरपुरुषाणि^१ च भवन्ति आयुमत्पुरुषाणि^२ च, अव्येतारब्धं सिद्धार्था यथा स्युः इति ॥

For the sake of *maṅgala* (auspiciousness). The *Ācarya* (*Kātyāyana*), eager of reaping the fruit of *maṅgala* said *siddha* for the sake of *maṅgala* at the commencement of his great work. The works which start with *maṅgala* shine well and enable the scholars to become heroic and long-lived and to have their objects fully accomplished.

NOTE :—It deserves notice that the appellation आचार्य is applied by Patañjali not only to Pāṇini but also to Kātyāyana.

Then the author begins to show that even if the word *nitya* is used instead of *siddha*, it is not free from ambiguity—

अयं स्वतु नित्यशब्दः नावश्यं कृतस्थेष्वविचालिषु भावेषु वर्तते । किं तद्हि? आभीक्ष्येऽपि वर्तते, तद्यथा नित्यप्रहसितो नित्यप्रजलितः इति । यावता आभीक्ष्येऽपि वर्तते तत्राप्यनेनैवार्थः स्यात्, 'व्यास्त्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिः न हि सन्वेदादलक्षणम्' इति । पश्यति तु आचार्यो मङ्गलर्थश्चैव सिद्धशब्दं आदितः प्रयुक्तो भविष्यति, शक्यामि चैन नित्यपर्यावाचिनं । वर्णयितुमिति । अतः सिद्धशब्दं एवोपातो न नित्यशब्दः ।

Even this word *nitya* does not invariably connote eternity. What then? It is used to connote repetition also. Ex. नित्यप्रहसितः (One who ever laughs) and नित्यप्रजलितः (one who ever prattles). Since it connotes repetition also, it should be

^१ वीरपुरुषाणि is another reading

^२ आयुमत्पुरुषाणि is another reading.

^३ नित्यप्रजलितः is another reading.

^४ नित्यपर्यावाचम् is another reading.

free from ambiguity only by the interpretation of the commentators. The Ācārya thinks that the word *siddha* is used at the commencement for the sake of *mangala* and I am able to interpret that it means *nitya*. Hence is the use of the word *siddha* and not *nitya*.

Having thus discussed the meaning of the word सिद्धे, the author begins to deal with the statement शब्दे अर्थे सम्बन्धे and discusses whether the word *artha* denotes *genus* or *individuality*.

अथ कं पुनः पदार्थं मत्वा एष विग्रहः किंवते 'सिद्धे शब्दे अर्थे सम्बन्धे च' इति । आकृतिमित्याह । कुत पतत् । आकृतिहि नित्या द्रव्यमनित्यम् ।

With what meaning (genus or individuality) in mind is the compound split thus शब्दे अर्थे सम्बन्धे? 'Akrti' (genus), says he. Why so? For *akrti* is *nitya* and *dravya* is *anitya*.

अथ द्रव्ये पदार्थे कथं विग्रहः कर्तव्यः ? सिद्धे शब्दे अर्थसम्बन्धे च इति । नित्यो हि अथवतामर्थैरभिसम्बन्धः ॥

If *dravya* is *padārtha*, how is the compound split? It is split thus शब्दे अर्थसम्बन्धे; for, the relation of the word to its meaning is *nitya*, (though the meaning in the form of *dravya* is *anitya*).

The author then takes the word *ākṛti* to connote shape and in that case begins to deal with the nature of the splitting of the compound—

अथवा द्रव्य एव पदार्थे एष विग्रहो न्यायः—सिद्धे शब्दे अर्थे सम्बन्धे चेति ; द्रव्यं हि नित्यम्, आकृतिरनित्या । कथं ज्ञायते ? एवं हि दृश्यते लोके मृत् क्याचिदाकृत्या युक्ता पिण्डो भवति, पिण्डाकृतिमुपमृद्य घटिकाः क्रियन्ते, घटिकाकृतिमुपमृद्य कुण्डिकाः क्रियन्ते; तथा मुवर्णं क्याचिदाकृत्या युक्तं पिण्डो भवति, पिण्डाकृतिमुपमृद्य रुचकाः

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क्रियन्ते, रूचकाकृतिमुपमृद्य कटकाः क्रियन्ते, कटकाकृतिमुपमृद्य स्वस्तिकाः क्रियन्ते । पुनरावृत्तः सुवर्णपिण्डः पुनरपरस्याकृत्या युक्तः खदिराङ्गारसवर्णे कुण्डले भवतः । आकृति-स्त्या चान्या च भवति, द्रव्यं पुनस्तदेव । आकृत्युपमदेन द्रव्यमेवावशिष्यते ॥

Or the compound is split thus—*शब्दे अर्थे सम्बन्धे* even when the meaning of the word is *dravya*; for the *dravya* always remains the same, while the shape is changing. How is it? Thus it is seen in the world—Mud in one shape becomes a clod; it is broken and it is converted into small pots; that shape is destroyed and the same mud is made into jars. So also is gold. In one shape it is a ball; it is destroyed and the gold is converted into rings; they are destroyed and it is made into bracelets; that shape is destroyed and it is made into a kind of amulets; that being destroyed, it is made into ear-rings as bright as red-hot charcoal of ebony wood. The shape changes from one to another, but the material remains. Though the shape is destroyed, the material remains.

आकृतावपि पदार्थं एष विश्वहो न्यायः—सिद्धे शब्दे अर्थे सम्बन्धे चेति । ननु चोक्तम् ‘आकृतिरनित्या’ हति । नैतदस्ति । नित्या आकृतिः । कथम् न कचिदुपरतेति कृत्वा सर्वत्रोपरता भवति, द्रव्यान्तरस्था तु उपलभ्यते ॥

Even accepting *ākṛti* to be *padārtha*, it is but proper to split the compound thus *शब्दे अर्थे सम्बन्धे*. Has it not been said that *ākṛti* is *anityā*? No, it is *nityā*. How? Though it is not seen at one place, it does not fail to exist in all places; it is found in other objects (of the same genus).

NOTE. Here it should be borne in mind that *ākṛti* when it is considered to be *nityā*, means *genus* and when it is considered to be *anityā*, it means *shape*.

अथवा नेदमेव निलक्षणम्—भूं कृतस्थम् अविचालि अनपायोपजनविकारि अनुत्पत्त्वद्वयव्यययोग्यि यत् तत्त्वमिति । तदपि नित्यं यस्मिस्तत्त्वं न विहन्यते । किं पुनस्तत्त्वम्? तद्वावस्तत्त्वम् । आकृतावपि तत्त्वं न विहन्यते ।

Or this is not the definition of *nitya* :—that which is free from संसर्गानित्यता, परिणामानित्यता and प्रब्लंसानित्यता⁹; but that from which its inherent property is never severed is *nitya*. What is *tattva*? *It-ness* is *tattva*. The *tattva* is never separated from *ākṛti*.

NOTE. संसर्गानित्यता is seen from the apparent red-crystal in the proximity of red-flower. The relation of redness and crystal is *anitya*, since it disappears at the disappearance of the red flower. परिणामानित्यता is seen in the process of a fruit becoming a ripe fruit. The relation with its colour when it is not ripe disappears when it becomes ripe and hence the colour is *anitya*. प्रब्लंसानित्यता is complete destruction.

⁹ Cf. भूं कृतस्थमिति संसर्गानित्यता परिहता ; अविचालिति परिणामानित्यता ; अनपायेत्य-दिता प्रब्लंसानित्यता (Pradipa).

धूं = स्वाभाविकवस्तवनारसंसर्गरहितम् ; कृतस्थम् = आगमनुकेत संसर्गरहितम् ; अविचालि = अपरिणामि । अपायोपजनविकाररहितमित्यस्यैव व्याख्यानम्—अनुत्पत्त्वद्वयव्यययोग्यिति ; वद्धभावविकाररहित्ये बनिन भावयेत्यते—तत्र, अपायः = तात्त्वः, उपजनः = सत्तासम्बन्धोऽस्तित्वम्, विकारः = परिणामः, उत्पत्तिरूढी प्रसिद्धे, व्ययः = अपशमः इति (Uddyotana).

धूंवपदस्यैव व्याख्यानं कृतस्थमिति ; रूपान्तरपतिविचालः, यथा पञ्चो दद्यादिरूपता, अनेन परिणामानित्यता परहस्ता ; उत्पत्तेः सत्तापर्वतत्वात् अनुत्पत्तोत्पत्तेन जन्मसत्तात्पौ भावविकारौ निरमलौ ; अग्रहीत्यनेन तृतीयो वृद्धिलक्षणः; अनुपजनेति चतुर्थः परिणामः; अनपायेति पश्चमः अपचयः; अव्ययेति पाठो विनाशः (Uddyota).

It deserves to be noted that Nāgōjibhatta has not given the meaning of अविचारि ; both he and Annambhatta differ in the meanings of the words अपाय, उपजन and व्यय.

उत्पत्तिः = Birth ; उपजनः = Existence or stability ; उत्पदः = Growth ; विकारः = Transformation ; व्ययः = Reduction ; अपायः = Destruction.

अथवा कि न एतेन इदं नित्यं हृदयं अनित्यम् इति । यजित्ये तं पदार्थं मत्वैष विग्रहः कियते—सिद्धे शब्दे अर्थे सम्बन्धे चेति ॥

Or what is the use of this discussion that one is *nitya* and the other *anitya*? When we take the meaning to be *nitya*, we split the compound thus : शब्दे अर्थे सम्बन्धे.

कथं पुनर्जीविते सिद्धः शब्दोऽर्थः सम्बन्धश्चेति । 'लोकतः' । यद्योके अर्थमर्थ-मुपादाय शब्दान्मयुज्जते, नैवां निर्वृत्तौ यत्नं कुर्वन्ति । ये पुनः कार्या भावाः निर्वृत्तौ तावत्तेषां यतः कियते, तथाया घटेन कार्यं करिष्यन् कुमकारकुलं गत्वाह—कुरु घटं, कार्यमनेन करिष्यामीति । न तद्वच्छब्दान् प्रयुक्तमाणो वैयाकरणकुलं गत्वा आह कुलं शब्दान् प्रयोग्ये इति । तावत्येव अर्थमुपादाय शब्दान् प्रयुज्जते ।

How is it understood that *sabda*, *artha* and *sambandha* are *nitya*? From the world. For words are used to denote objects and no effort is made to coin them. Effort is taken in creating such things as are *kārya*. For instance he who has the use of a pot goes to the potter's house and says, 'Make a pot; I have to use it.' But no one similarly goes to the house of a grammarian and says, 'Coin words; I shall make use of them.' He thinks of the object and makes use of words denoting them.

यदि तर्हि लोक प्रयु^{*} प्रमाणन्, कि शास्त्रेण कियते । 'लोकतोऽर्थप्रयुक्ते शब्द-प्रयोगे शास्त्रेण धर्मनियमः' । लोकतोऽर्थप्रयुक्ते शब्दप्रयोगे शास्त्रेण धर्मनियमः कियते । किमिदं धर्मनियम इति ! धर्माय नियमो धर्मनियमः, धर्मार्थो वा नियमः धर्मनियमः, धर्मप्रयोजनो वा नियमः धर्मनियमः ॥

If then the world is the authority for the use of words, what purpose is served by the Vyākaraṇa sāstra? When words

* प्रयु शब्देषु is another reading.

are used in the sense in which each is current in the world, injunction to use the correct word is made by the śāstra for the sake of *dharma*. *Dharma-niyama*, what does it mean? It means *niyama* for *dharma*, *niyama* for the sake of *dharma* and *niyama* having for its fruit *dharma*.

NOTE. It deserves to be noted that Kāiyatā clearly says that the compound *dharma-niyamah* should be split only as *dharmaśya niyamah*. If so, Mahābhāṣyakāra does not mention how the compound is split, but brings out the sense of the compound. All the three ways mentioned there — धर्माय नियमः, धर्मायो वा नियमः and धर्मप्रयोजनो वा नियमः may be taken to mean the same. The only difference is that the second is more explanatory than the first and the third is more explanatory than the second. What is, then, the meaning of *dharma*? It may be interpreted in three ways:

1. नित्यकर्म Cf. निष्कारणो धर्मः पठ्ठते वेदोऽध्येयः ज्ञेयश्च (M. B. I. 1, 1).
2. यज्ञकर्म Cf. यज्ञे कर्मणि स नियमः । (M. B. I. 1, 1).
3. अपूर्वकर्म Cf. ज्ञाने धर्म हृति चेतथाधर्मः । (M. B. I. 1, 1).

Nāgōjibhāṭṭa says (as the opinion of some) that in धर्माय नियमः, धर्म has the first meaning, in धर्मायो वा नियमः it has the second meaning and in धर्मप्रयोजनो वा नियमः it has the third meaning. But it is better to take that it has all the three meanings in each.

यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु । प्रियतद्विता दाखिणात्या:, यथा लोके वेदे चेति प्रयोक्तव्ये यथा लौकिकवैदिकविति प्रयुज्ञते । अथवा युक्त एवात् तद्वितार्थः, यथा लौकिकेषु वैदिकेषु च छ्रुतान्तेषु । लोके तावत् अभद्रो ग्राम्यकुकुटः, अभद्रो भास्यसूक्तः

⁷ Cf. Bṛhadāyana Dharmasūtra 1, 12, 1.

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इत्युच्यते । भव्यं च नाम क्रुतिधार्थमुपादीयते, शक्यं चानेन शमांसादिमिरपि
क्रुतिहन्तुम्, तत्र नियमः क्रियते—हृदे भव्यम् इदम् अभव्यम् इति । तथा खेदात्
स्त्रीषु प्रवृत्तिर्भवति, समानश्च खेदविगमो गम्यायां च अगम्यायां च, तत्र नियमः क्रियते
इयं गम्या इयम् अगम्या इति ॥

As in *taukika* and *vāidiku* incidents. The Southerners are fond of using words with taddhita suffixes (without special significance). They, instead of using लोके and वेदे, use लौकिक-वैदिकेषु. Or it is but proper that the taddhita suffix has a meaning. The term लौकिकवैदिकेषु may be taken to mean लौकिकेषु वैदिकेषु च कृतान्तेषु. There is with reference to the worldly incident, the saying that the domestic cock should not be eaten nor the domestic pig; food is taken to remove hunger; it may be removed by any one even with dogs' meat; there is the restriction made that one is eatable and the other is non-eatable. Similarly man meets woman to satisfy his sexual passion; it may be had in meeting any woman deserving or non-deserving; there is the restriction made that one is meet-able and the other is non-meet-able.

NOTE. The mention of the word दाक्षिणात्य suggests that Kātyāyana was a Southerner, while both the *Sūtrakāra* and the *Bhāsyakāra* were Northerners. Some think that there is a little sneer here.

वेदे सत्यपि—पयोवतो ब्राह्मणः, यवागृह्णतो राजन्यः, आमिजावतो वैद्यः
इत्युच्यते; व्रते च नाम अन्यवहाराधर्थमुपादीयते; शक्यं चानेन शालिमांसादीन्यपि
क्रत्यितुम्; तत्र नियमः क्रियते । तथा चैत्रः खादिरो वा यूपः स्यात् इत्युच्यते;

¹ The expression लौकिकवैदिकेषु is taken to mean in the *smṛti* and *śruti* texts by Kātyāyaṇa and others. But on viewing this with तत्त्वप्रयोगे it is better to take it in the sense 'in the incidents of the world and Vedic rituals.' In that case शालिमांसादीन्यपि is understood after लौकिकवैदिकेषु.

यूपव्य नाम पश्चनुबन्धार्थमुपादीयते ; यक्षं चानेन यत्किञ्चिदेव काष्ठमुच्छित्य अनुच्छित्य
वा पश्चनुबन्धुम् ; तत्र नियमः कियते । तथा असौ कपालान् अविश्वित्य अभिमन्त्र-
यते—मृगृणामङ्गिरसां धर्मस्य तपसा तप्यत्वम् इति ; अन्तरेणापि मन्त्रम् अभिर्दहन-
कर्मा कपालानि सन्तापयन्ति ; तत्र च नियमः कियते—एवं कियमाणमभ्युदयकारि
भवतीति ॥

So with reference to the Vedic rituals it is said that during austerities Brāhmaṇa, if hungry, may take milk, Kṣattriya *Yavāgu*, and Vaiśya curd of milk and whey; *Vrata* intends only food; Rice and meat may serve the same purpose; still restriction is made. So also it is said that the stake to which the sacrificial animal is tied should be of *bilva* tree or *khadira* tree; the stake is intended to tie the sacrificial animal; any piece of wood standing upright or otherwise may serve the purpose; there is the restriction made. Similarly *kopāla*'s—small pieces of mud—are put in fire and the mantra which means, 'Heat them with the intense heat of Bhṛgus and Aṅgiras' is pronounced; the small pieces will be heated whether the mantra is recited or not; there is the restriction made that, if it is done so, it begets merit.

एवमिहापि समानायामर्थावगतौ शब्देन चापशब्देन च, धर्मनियमः कियते—
शब्देनैव अथोऽमिवेयो, नापशब्देन इति ; एवं कियमाणमभ्युदयकारि भवतीति ॥

So here also though the meaning is understood both from the correct word and the corrupt one, still restriction is made that meaning is to be made out only from the correct word, since from it alone accrues merit.

The meaning of the first *vārttika* having been fully explained, there arises a doubt whether word that is not current in the world is correct or not, since it has been said there that it is used only in such meanings as are current in the world.

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अस्त्यप्रयुक्तः—

सन्ति वै शब्दा अप्रयुक्ताः ; तद्यथा, ऊप तेरं चक्रं पेचं इति ।

Is but not current—there are evidently words which are not current ; viz., *uṣa*, *tēra*, *cakra*, *pēca*.

किमतो यत्सन्त्यप्रयुक्ताः ? What if there are words not current ?

यथोगाद्वा भवान्तशब्दानां साधुत्वमन्यवस्थ्यति । य इदानीम् अप्रयुक्ताः नामी साधवः स्युः । इदं तावद्विप्रतिषिद्धम्—यदुच्यते सन्ति वै शब्दा अप्रयुक्ता इति—, यदि सन्ति नाप्रयुक्ताः, अथाप्रयुक्ता न सन्ति, सन्ति च अप्रयुक्ताश्चेति विप्रतिषिद्धम् ॥

For only from usage you determine the correctness of words. Those which are not now in usage cannot be correct. This is at first contradictory to say that there are words but they are not in usage ; if they are, they cannot have fallen out of use; and if they have fallen out of use, they cannot exist; they exist but they are not in use is contradictory.

प्रयुज्जान एव खलु भवानाह सन्ति शब्दा अप्रयुक्ता इति ; कथेदानीमन्यो भवज्ञातीयकः पुरुषः शब्दानां प्रयोगे साधुः स्यात् ?

You use the words and say at the same time that they are out of use. Who else of your type can make correct use of words ?

नैतद्विप्रतिषिद्धम्—सन्तीति तावद् ब्रूमः,* यदेतान् शास्त्रविदः शास्त्रेणानुविदिथते । अप्रयुक्ता इति ब्रूमः, यहोके अप्रयुक्ता इति । यदप्युच्यते कथेदानीमन्यो भवज्ञातीयकः पुरुषः शब्दानां प्रयोगे साधुः स्यादिति, न ब्रूमोऽस्माभिरप्रयुक्ता इति ।

This is not contradictory; we first say that they exist since they are formed from the rules of grammar; then

* Note the use of the plural by the pupil. This shows that he has lost his balance.

we say that they are not in use since they are not used in the world. As regards the statement—who else of your type can make correct use of words?—we do not say that they are not used by us.

किं तर्हि? What then?

लोके अपयुक्ता इति. They are not made use of in the world.

ननु च भवानप्यभ्यन्तरे लोके? Are not you one in the world?

अभ्यन्तरेऽहं लोके, न त्वं ह लोकः। I am one in the world, but not the whole world.*

अस्त्यप्रयुक्त इति चेत्र, अर्थे शब्दप्रयोगात्—

अस्त्यप्रयुक्त इति चेत्र तत्र। किं कारणम्? अर्थे शब्दप्रयोगात्—अर्थे शब्दः प्रयुज्यन्ते, सन्ति चैषां शब्दानामर्थाः येवर्थेषु प्रयुज्यन्ते॥

"Is but not current" cannot be said, for words are used to express ideas. If it is said, "Is but not current," it can be denied. How? On account of the use of words to express ideas—words are used to express ideas and there are ideas, to express which the words are used.

अप्रयोगः प्रयोगान्यत्वात्—

अप्रयोगः सत्त्वप्येषां शब्दानां न्यायः, कुलः; प्रयोगान्यत्वात्, यदेतेषां शब्दानां मर्थे अन्यान्तशब्दान् प्रयुज्जते; तथथा, ऊरेत्यस्य शब्दस्यार्थे क यूयमुषिताः, तेरेत्यस्यार्थे क यूयं तीर्णाः, चक्रेत्यस्यार्थे क यूयं कुलवन्तः, पेचेत्यस्यार्थे क यूयं पकवन्तः इति।

* He suggests that he uses such words to denote the *form* of the word, while ordinary people use words only to express *ideas*.

¹ The objection raised is successfully met by five reasons:—
(1) *artheśabdadaprayogāt*, (2) *uprayogālī prayogānyatvāt*, (3) *aprayuktē dirghasattravat*, (4) *sarvē dēśāntarē* and (5) *cēdē*.

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Non-use on account of the use of other (synonymous) expressions—It is but proper that these words are not in use. Why? On account of other expressions—since other expressions are used to convey the idea of these words, viz. 'Kva yūyam uśitāḥ' in place of 'uṣa,' 'kva yūyam tiruṇāḥ' in place of 'tēra,' 'kva yūyam kṛtavantāḥ' in place of 'cakra' and 'kva yūyam pakvarantāḥ' in place of 'pēca.'

अप्रयुक्ते दीर्घसत्त्रवत्—

यद्यप्यप्रयुक्ताः तथापि अवश्यं दीर्घसत्त्रवल्क्षणेनानुविधेयाः । तद्यथा दीर्घसत्त्राणि वार्षिशतिकानि वार्षिसहस्रिकाणि^१ च, न चाद्यते कश्चिदपि व्यवहरति^२ केवलमूषिसम्बद्धायोः धर्म इति कृत्वा याज्ञिकाः शास्त्रेणानुविधधते ।

Though not current, to be treated like *dirghasattra*—Though they are not current, yet they should certainly be treated in grammar like *dirghasattra*. *Dirghasattras* are sacrifices performed in one hundred or one thousand days and they are not performed now-a-days. Still Yājñika's enjoin them in the chapters dealing with sacrifices in the *Vedas* since it is considered that their study is a *nityakarma*.^३

सर्वे देशान्तरे—

सर्वे खल्वप्येते शब्दा देशान्तरेषु^४ प्रयुज्यन्ते

All in other places—All of these words are certainly in use in other places.

^१ वर्षशब्दः दिवसप्तरः (Nāgōjibhaṭṭa)

^२ अहरति is the reading of Nāgōjibhaṭṭa.

^३ ऋतिसम्बद्धः = वेदाभ्ययनम् (Kātyāyaṇī).

^४ Cf. धर्मः = निकारणो धर्मः, नित्य इति चाकृतः; वेदाभ्ययनं नित्यमिति हृत्वा, याज्ञिकाः आपस्तन्त्रादयः, सत्त्वप्रयोगमपि, शास्त्रेण = मृत्रेण अनुविदधते इति गोजना. (Uddyotana)

^५ देशान्तरे is another reading.

न चैवोपलभ्यन्ते^{*}

But they are not known.

उपलब्धौ यतः क्रियताम् । महान् हि शब्दस्य प्रयोगविषयः—सप्तद्वीपा वसुमती,
त्रयो लोकाः, चत्वारो वेदाः साङ्गाः सरहस्याः† बहुधा भिन्नाः एकशतमध्यर्युशास्त्राः, सहस-
वर्त्मां सामवेदः, एकविशतिभा वाहवृच्यं, नवधा आर्थर्वणो वेदः, वाकोवाक्यमितिहासः
पुराणं वैद्यकमित्येतावाञ्छब्दस्य प्रयोगविषयः ॥

Let attempt be made to know them. Great is the range for the use of words—earth with its seven island-continents, three worlds, four vēdas with their *aṅgas* and *upaniṣads* with manifold varieties, Yajurvēda with 101 recensions, Sāmaṇvēda with 1000 recensions, R̥gvēda with 21 recensions, Atharvavēda with nine recensions, science of discussions, history, purāṇas, works on medicine.

एतावत्तं शब्दस्य प्रयोगविषयमननुनिश्य सन्त्यप्रयुक्ता इति वचनं केवलं
साहसमात्रमेव

Without noting such a range for the use of words, it is simple impudence to say that words exist, but at the same time are obsolete.

एतास्मिंश्चातिमहति शब्दस्य प्रयोगविषये ते ते शब्दास्त्र तत्र नियतविषया हृश्यन्ते
—तथथा शब्दतिर्गतिकर्मा कम्बोजेष्वेव भाषितो भवति, विकार एनमार्या भाषन्ते शब्द
इति । हम्पतिः सुराष्ट्रेषु, रंहतिः प्राच्यमध्येषु, गमिमेव त्वार्याः प्रयुज्जते । दातिर्लव-
नार्थे प्राच्येषु, दात्रमुदीच्येषु ॥

In this vast range of the use of words, particular words in particular meanings are current in different places; viz. the

* न चैते is another reading.

† *Rahasyam* = *Upaniṣad*, *Manvādismṛtayā vā* (*Uddyōta*.)

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root *śav* is used in the sense of 'to go' in Kambōja; Aryas make use of that root only in the word *śava* (which means a corpse); the root *hamm* in Surāṣṭra, and *ramh* in east and midland countries are used in the sense of 'to go': Aryas use only the root *gam*. The word *dāti* is used in the eastern countries in the sense of 'cutting' and *dātra* in the northern countries.

ये चाप्येते भवतोऽप्रयुक्ता अभिमताः शब्दाः, एतेषामपि प्रयोगो दृश्यते । कः
वेदे—तथा, सुसास्ये रेवती रेवदूष (R. V. IV. 51, 4.), यद्गो रेवती रेवलां तमूष,
यन्मे नरः श्रुत्यं त्रै चक (R. V. I, 165, 11) यत्रा नश्चका जरसं तनूनाम्
(R. V. I. 89, 9) इति ॥

Even such words as are in your opinion obsolete are in use. Where? In Vēda—viz. *saptāsgē rēvati rēvad ūṣa*, *yadvō rēvati rēvatiyām tam ūṣa*, *yan mē naraḥ śrutyam brahma cakra*, *yatrā naścakrā jarasam tanūnām*.

Next arises the doubt whether merit accrues from *śabdajñāna* or *śabda-prayoga* since it is said in the vārttika 'lōkataḥ arthaprayuktē śabda-prayogē, sāstrēṇa dharmaniyamah.' Kāiyāṭa says that the following topic arises from the śruti.

एकः शब्दः सम्यग् ज्ञातः शालान्वितः सुप्रयुक्तः स्वर्गे लोके कामधुग् भवति,
where it is doubtful whether the importance is upon *jñāna* or *prayoga*.*

कि पुनः शब्दस्य ज्ञाने धर्मः आहोस्त्वित् प्रयोगे?

* Nāgōjibhaṭṭa says that *jñāna* may be considered important and *prayoga* accessory, as *jñāta* is read first in the śruti or *jñāna* may be considered accessory to *prayoga*, since all *jñānas* except *ātmā-jñāna* are needed only for application.

Does merit accrue from the *knowledge* of correct words or from the *use* of correct words?

कथात्र विशेषः ?

What is the difference here?

ज्ञाने धर्म इति चेत्यथा अधर्मः

ज्ञाने धर्म इति चेत्याधर्मोऽपि प्राप्नोति । यो हि शब्दाज्ञानाति अपशब्दानप्यसौ जानाति । यथैव शब्दज्ञाने धर्मः एवमपशब्दज्ञानेऽप्यधर्मः ॥

If merit accrues from knowledge, so also will demerit. If it is considered that merit accrues from knowledge, demerit also will accrue; for he who knows correct words knows their corruptions also; as merit accrues from the knowledge of correct words, so also will demerit accrue from that of their corruptions.

अथवा भूयानधर्मः प्राप्नोति । भूयांसो अपशब्दाः, अलीयांसः शब्दाः । एकैकस्य शब्दस्य बहुतोऽपञ्चाशाः —तथा गौरिल्यस्य गावी गोणी गोता गोपोतलिका इत्येव-मादयोऽपञ्चाशाः ॥

Or greater demerit will accrue; for greater in number are the corruptions and smaller in number are correct words. For every correct word there are many corruptions. viz. गावी, गोणी, गोता, गोपोतलिका etc., are the corrupt forms of one single word गौः.

आचारे नियमः

आचारे पुनर्कृषिनियमं वेदयते—तेऽसुरा हेऽलयो हेऽलय इति कुर्वन्तः परावभूतः इति

Injunction in use; Veda suggests injunction by the statement तेऽसुरा...परावभूतः (Those Asuras met with disaster by using हेऽलयो हेऽलयः)

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अस्तु तर्हि प्रयोगे

If so, let the merit accrue from *prayōga*.

प्रयोगे सर्वलोकस्य

यदि प्रयोगे धर्मः सर्वो लोकोऽभ्युदयेन युज्येत

If it is from *prayōga*, it will be of the whole world. If merit accrues from *prayōga*, the whole world will get merit.

कषेदार्ना भवतो मत्सरो यदि सर्वो लोकोऽभ्युदयेन युज्येत ?

Why should you be envious if the whole world get merit ?

न स्तु कथिनमत्सरः । प्रयत्नानर्थक्यं तु भवति । फलवता च नाम प्रयत्नेन
मवितव्यम् । न च प्रयतः फलाद्वयतिरेच्यः ॥

There is no envy. The effort will be fruitless. It is indeed necessary that every effort should bear fruit. Effort should not be deprived of fruit.

ननु च ये कृतप्रयत्नास्ते साधीयः शब्दान् प्रयोक्ष्यन्ते, त एव साधीयोऽभ्युदयेन
योक्ष्यन्ते

Oh ! Only those who have worked in grammar make use of words very correctly and hence only they can very well meet with merit.

व्यतिरेकोऽपि वै लक्ष्यते—दृश्यन्ते हि कृतप्रयत्नाव्यापवीणाः, अकृतप्रयत्नाव्या-
पवीणाः ; तत्र फलव्यतिरेकोऽपि स्थात्

Reverse also is seen ; It is seen that those who have worked in grammar are not able to use correct words and those who have not worked at it are able to use correct words. Hence the fruit also will be reversed.

एवं तर्हि नापि ज्ञाने एव धर्मः, नापि प्रयोग एव ।

If so, there is no merit in the knowledge alone nor in the application alone.

कि तहिं?

Where then?

शास्त्रपूर्वके प्रयोगेऽभ्युदयस्तत्त्वल्यं वेदशब्देन

शास्त्रपूर्वकं यः शब्दान् प्रयुड्हेते सोऽभ्युदयेन युज्यते; ततुल्यं वेदशब्देन^{*}। वेदशब्दा अप्येवमभिवदन्ति ‘योऽस्मिष्टेमेन यजते य उ चैनमेवं वेद’ ‘योऽस्मि नाचिकेतं चिनुते य उ चैनमेवं वेद’॥

Merit only from the *prayoga* after the study of grammar and it is similar to the sacrifices signified by the Vedic expressions. He who makes use of words after the study of grammar meets with merit. It is similar to those which are signified by Vedic expressions. They say thus:—He who performs *Agnistoma* and knows how it should be done; he who performs *Nāciketacayana* and knows how it should be done.

अपर आह ततुल्यं वेदशब्देनेति—यथा वेदशब्दा नियमपूर्वमधीताः फलवन्तो भवन्त्येवं यः शास्त्रपूर्वकं शब्दान् प्रयुड्हेते सोऽभ्युदयेन युज्यत इति

Another interprets the expression *tat tulyam vēda-śabdēna* thus:—As the Vedic texts studied according to the enjoined rules are fruitful, so also he who makes use of words after studying grammar meets with merit.

From the above it is clear that, according to the Vārttikakāra, merit accrues only from *prayoga* preceded by

* *Vēdas'abdaḥ* is split in two ways: (1) *Vēdaḥ śabdaḥ (bādhakah, pramānam iti) yasya saḥ* and (2) *Vēdaś cāsān śabdaśca*.

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vyākaraṇādhyayana. Mahābhāṣyakāra seems to differ from him and hence opens the same topic again.

अथवा पुनरस्तु ज्ञाने एव धर्मं इति

Or let the merit accrue only from knowledge.

ननु चोक्तम् ज्ञाने धर्मं इति चेतश्चार्थं इति

Was it not said that if *dharma* is from *jñāna*, *adharma* will similarly accrue?

नैष दोषः, शब्दप्रमाणका वयम्, यच्छब्द आह तदस्माकं प्रमाणम् । शब्दश्च शब्दज्ञाने धर्ममाह, नापशब्दज्ञानेऽधर्मम् । यच्च पुनरशिष्टापतिषिद्धं नैव तद् दोषाय भवति, नाभ्युदयाय । तद्यथा हिंकितहसितकण्ठयितानि नैव दोषाय भवन्ति नाभ्युदयाय ॥

No, this harm will never be. We have *śabda* for our authority; whatever *śabda* says is authority for us; *śabda* says that merit accrues from the knowledge of words and it does not say that demerit accrues from the knowledge of corrupt words. That which is neither enjoined nor forbidden produces neither merit nor demerit *viz.*, hiccough, laugh, and scratching produce neither demerit nor merit.

अथवा अभ्युपाय एवापशब्दज्ञाने शब्दज्ञाने । यो हपशब्दज्ञानाति शब्दानप्यसौ जानाति । तदेवं ज्ञाने धर्मं इति क्वतोऽर्थादापलं भवति—‘अपशब्दज्ञानपूर्वकं शब्दज्ञाने धर्मः’ इति

Or the knowledge of corrupt forms of words leads to that of correct ones; he who knows the corrupt forms knows the correct ones also. Hence the statement of him who says that knowledge gives merit leads of its own accord to the inference that knowledge of correct words preceded by that of corrupt forms gives merit.

*अथवा, कृपस्वानकवदेतद्विष्यति—तदथा, कृपस्वानकः कृपं स्वन् यद्यपि
मृदा पांसुभिश्चावकीणो भवति, सोऽप्यु संजातास्तु तत् एव ते गुणमासादयति, येन च
स दोषो निर्हृष्टते, भूयसा चास्युदयेन योगो भवति । एवमिहापि यदप्यपश्चब्द-
ज्ञानेऽधर्मस्तथापि यस्त्वसौ शब्दज्ञाने धर्मस्तेन च स दोषो निर्धानिष्यते, भूयसा चास्युद-
येन योगो भविष्यति ॥

Or this may be like a well-sinker. A well-sinker, though he is stuck in the mud and is covered with dust in the process of sinking the well, gets himself rid of the mud and dust with the water as soon as he reaches it, and gets plenty of good from it. So also here even though demerit accrues from the knowledge of corrupt words, yet merit accrues from that of correct ones, which destroys the effect of the former and leads to much good.

यदप्युच्यते आचारे नियमः इति याज्ञे कर्मणि स नियमोऽन्यत्रानियमः । एवं
हि श्रूयते—यर्वाणस्त्वार्णो नाम अइयो वभूतुः प्रत्यक्षधर्माणः परापरज्ञाः विदितवेदितव्या
अधिगतयाधातय्याः—ते तत्रमवन्तो यद्ग्रानस्तद्ग्रान इति प्रयोक्तव्ये यर्वाणस्त्वार्ण इति
प्रयुज्जते, याज्ञे पुनः कर्मणि नापभाषन्ते । तैः पुनरसुर्याज्ञे कर्मण्यपभाषितम्, ततस्ते परा-
भूताः ।

As regards the statement *ācāre niyamah*, it should be taken that the *niyama* holds only to sacrifice so that there may be *aniyama* elsewhere. For it is mentioned in the Vēdas that the revered sages named *Yarvāṇa* and *Tarvāṇa* who could see everything with their mind's eye, who could distinguish the infinite and finite, who had *śravaṇa*, *manana* and *nididhyāsana* of *ātmān* and who had become one with *paramātman* used the words *yarvāṇah* and *tarvāṇah* instead of *yadvāṇah* and *tadvāṇah* (in ordinary conversation) and pro-

* This line of argument is taken on the maxim तुष्ट्वतु दुर्जनः

nounced the correct words in sacrifices. Those *usuras*, on the other hand, pronounced corrupt words in sacrifices and hence met with disaster.

Here it should be noted that the Vārttikakāra and the Mahābhāsyakāra differ in their views on this topic. The former decides that one gets merit only when he uses correct words (in sacrifices and elsewhere) knowing them as such through his study of grammar. Hence the mere study of grammar does not bear any fruit and only those who have studied grammar and make correct use of them can get dharma. But on the other hand Mahābhāsyakāra decides that the study of grammar brings *dharma* (ज्ञाने धर्मः) and only correct words should be used in sacrifices whether they have studied grammar or not (याहे कर्मणि नियमः).

VIII

In the first *vārttika*, the statement शास्त्रेण धर्मनियमः is found. There the word शास्त्र denotes व्याकरण. This is evident from the following statements of Mahābhāsyakāra रुदाथ्य वेदा-नामध्येयं व्याकरणम्, तस्मादध्येयं व्याकरणम्, न चान्तरेण व्याकरणम्, किं पुनरिदृ व्याकरणमेवाखिजिगांसमानेभ्यः, व्याकरणे स्माधीयते, अनर्थकं व्याकरणम् etc.

Now begins the discussion on the meaning of the word *vyākaranam*.

अथ व्याकरणमित्यस्य शब्दस्य कः पदार्थः ?

Now what is the meaning of the word *vyākaranam*?

सूत्रम् Sūtra.

सत्रे व्याकरणं पष्ठवर्थोऽनुपपत्नः

तत्र व्याकरणे पष्ठवर्थो नोपपत्ने व्याकरणस्य सूत्रम् इति। कि तर्हि तदन्य-
लक्ष्याद् व्याकरणम्, यस्याद् सूत्रं स्यात् ।

Vyākaraṇa being sūtra, unsuitability of the sixth case meaning. If *Vyākaraṇa* means *sūtra*, sixth case meaning in the expression “*Vyākaramasya sūtram*” won’t suit. Is it then that *vyākaraṇa* is different from *sūtra*, so that it may be said that this *sūtra* is of that?

शब्दाप्रतिपत्तिः

शब्दानां चाप्रतिपत्तिः प्राप्नोति, व्याकरणात् शब्दान्प्रतिपद्यामहे इति। न हि सूक्त एव शब्दान्प्रतिपद्यन्ते ।

Non-knowledge of *sabdas*. Knowledge of words cannot be had in the manner in which it is generally known that we get the knowledge of words from *Vyākaraṇa*; for words are not understood only from *sūtras*.

कि तहिं? Whence then?

व्याख्यानतत्त्वं From the commentary also.

ननु च तदेव सूत्रं विगृहीतं व्याख्यानं भवति?

Is it not that the same *sūtra* split into words becomes commentary?

न केवलानि चर्चापदानि व्याख्यानम् शृण्दः आत् एच् इति

The mere repetition of words composing a *sūtra* like *vrdihih*, *āt*, *āic* does not serve as commentary.

कि तहिं? What then?

उदाहरणं प्रत्युदाहरणं वाक्याभ्याहार इत्येतत्समुदितं व्याख्यानं भवति

Example, counter-example, filling-up the ellipsis in the sentence—all these put together form the commentary.

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एवं तहि शब्दः

If so, *śabda* is *vyākaraṇa*.

शब्दे ल्युडर्थः

यदि शब्दे व्याकरणं ल्युडर्थो नोपपद्धते, व्याक्रियन्ते शब्दा अनेनेति व्याकरणम् ।
न हि शब्देन किंचिद् व्यक्तियते ।

Śabda being *Vyākaraṇa*, the (unsuitability of the) meaning of the suffix *ana*. If *śabda* is taken to be *vyākaraṇa*, the meaning of the suffix *ana* in the word *vyākaraṇa* does not suit since it is derived as *vyākriyantē śabdā anēna*; for nothing is analysed into *prakṛti* and *pratyaya* on the authority of *śabda*.

केन तहि ? If so, by what ?

सूत्रेण । By sūtra.

भवे च तद्रितः

भवे च तद्रितो नोपपद्धते, व्याकरणे भवो योगो वैयाकरण इति । न हि शब्दे भवो योगः

The unsuitability of the secondary suffix in the sense of *bhava*. The secondary suffix which has the sense of *existing* in the word *vaiyākaraṇa*, which means the sūtra in *vyākaraṇa*, does not suit; for sūtra does not exist in *śabda*.

क तहि ? Where then ?

सूत्रे In the sūtra.

प्रोक्ताद्यथ तद्रिता

प्रोक्ताद्यथ तद्रिता नोपपद्धते, पाणिनिना प्रोक्तं पाणिनीयम्, जापिशलं काशकृत्तनम् इति । न हि पाणिनिना शब्दः प्रोक्तः ।

Besides, the unsuitability of the secondary suffixes used in the sense 'said by' etc. The secondary suffixes used in the sense 'said by' etc. in the words *Pāṇiniyam*—that which is said by *Pāṇini*—*Āpiśalam*, *Kāśakṛtsnam* do not fit in; for *śabdas* are not said by *Pāṇini*.

किं तर्हि? What then?

सूत्रम् Sūtra.

किमर्थमिदमुच्यते भवे प्रोक्तादयश्च तद्विता इति, न प्रोक्तादयश्च तद्विता:
इत्येव, भवेऽपि तद्वितश्चोदितः स्यात् :

What for have the two—*bhavē*, *prōktādayaśca taddhitāḥ* been said here instead of the latter alone, since it can include the former also?

पुरस्तादिदमाचार्येण दृष्टम् भवे च तद्वितः इति, तव पठितम्; तत उत्तरकाल-
मिदं दृष्टं प्रोक्तादयश्च तद्विताः इति, तदपि पठितम्; न चेदानीमाचार्याः सूत्राणि
कृत्वा निवर्तयन्ति ।

First this struck Ācārya '*bhavē ca taddhitāḥ*' and it was read; then was he struck with '*prōktādayaśca taddhitāḥ*' and it was read. Ācāryas do not stop after writing the sūtras without revising them.

अयं तावददोषः यदुच्यते शब्दे ल्युडर्थः इति । नावश्यं करणाधिकरणयो-
रेव ल्युह विधीयते ।

The objection *śabde lyudarthaḥ* does not stand, since the suffix *ana* is not invariably used in the sense of instrument or place of action.

किं तर्हि? Where then?

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अन्येष्वपि कारकेषु—क्रृत्यल्युटो बहुलम् इति, तद्यथा प्रस्कन्दनं, प्रपतनम् इति।

In the meanings of other cases also; it is used to denote *apādāna* as in the words *praskandana* and *prapatana*.*

अथवा शब्दैरपि शब्दा व्याकियन्ते।—तद्यथा गौरित्युक्ते सर्वे सन्देहा निवर्तन्ते, नाश्वो न गर्दभ इति

Or words are explained by words—viz. on saying the word *gāuh*, all doubts whether the object denoted is horse or ass are removed.

अयं तर्हि दोषः—भवे प्रोक्तादयश्च तद्विताः इति

Then this defect '*bhavē prōktādayaśca taddhitāḥ*' stands.

एवं तर्हि

लक्ष्यलक्षणं व्याकरणम्

लक्ष्यं च लक्षणं चेतत्समुदितं व्याकरणं भवति

If so, *Vyākaraṇa* consists of *lakṣya* and *lakṣaṇa*. Both *lakṣya* and *lakṣaṇa* form *Vyākaraṇa*.

किं पुनर्लक्ष्यं लक्षणं च? What is *lakṣya* and what is *lakṣaṇa*?

शब्दो लक्ष्यः, सूत्रं लक्षणम् Word is *lakṣya* and *sūtra* is *lakṣaṇa*.

एवमप्ययं दोषः, समुदाये व्याकरणशब्दः प्रवृत्तोऽववेषे नोपपद्यते, सूत्राणि वाप्यधीयान इत्यते वैव्याकरण इति

* *Praskandana*=the place from which one has slipped; *prapatana*=the place from which one has fallen.

† Here *vyākṛti* does not mean the determination of *prakṛti* and *pratyaya*, but *vīparītanāvṛitti* and *sadrśasāṅgraha*.

Even then there is this defect that the word *vyākaraṇa* which denotes a whole cannot denote its part. But one who studies sūtras alone is taken to be a *vaiyākaraṇa*.

नैप दोषः, समुदायेषु हि शब्दाः प्रवृत्ताः अवयवेष्वपि वर्तन्ते, तथा—पूर्वे
पञ्चालाः, उत्तरे पञ्चालाः, तैलं सुक्तं, वृतं सुक्तं, शुक्लो नीलः कपिलः कृष्ण इति।
एवमयं समुदाये व्याकरणशब्दः प्रवृत्तोऽवयवेष्वपि वर्तते।

It is no defect, for words denoting wholes are used to denote parts also. viz. ⁹East Pañcāla, North Pañcāla, *tāila* is taken in, *ghṛta* is taken in; white, blue, brown, and black, objects. So also the word *vyākaraṇa* used here to denote the whole may denote a part also.

Vārttikakāra has thus closed the topic with the conclusion that *Vyākaraṇa* includes *lakṣya* and *lakṣaṇa*. Mahābhāṣyakāra is not satisfied with it and hence reopens the topic and decides that *lakṣaṇa* (sūtra) alone is denoted by the word *vyākaraṇa*.

अथवा पुनरस्तु सत्रम् Or let it denote only sūtra.

ननु चोक्तम् सत्रे व्याकरणे पञ्चर्थोऽनुपपत्तः इति!

Has it not been said that if *vyākaraṇa* denotes sūtra, the meaning of the sixth case does not suit?

नैप दोषः ; व्यपदेशिवद्वावेन भविष्यति

⁹ The word Pañcāla denotes the whole; but in the expressions Pūrvē Pañcālāḥ etc. it denotes a part. *Tāila* and *ghṛta* denote medicated oil and ghee, so that they refer to the ingredients also which form a part of them. Though the word *śukla* denotes only white object, yet it includes also the black border in a white cloth.

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It is no defect. It can be removed by adopting the principle of व्यपदेशवद्वावः¹

यदप्युच्यते शब्दप्रतिपत्तिः इति, नहि सूत्रत एव शब्दान् प्रतिपदन्ते ।
किं तर्हि? व्याख्यानतश्चेति; परिहतमेतत्, तदेव सूत्रं विगृहीतं व्याख्यानं भवतीति ।

The objection 'śabdāpratipattiḥ...vyākhyānataśca' was met by the statement 'tadēva sūtram vigr̥hitam vyākhyānam bhavati.'

ननु चोत्तं न केवलानि चर्चापदानि व्याख्यानं बृद्धिः आत् ऐजू इति । किं तर्हि,
उदाहरणं प्रत्युदाहरणं वाक्याभ्याहार इत्येतत्समुदितं व्याख्यानं भवतीति ?

Has it not been said 'na kēvalāni...bhavati'?

अविज्ञानत एतदेवं भवत । सूत्रत एव हि शब्दान् प्रतिपदन्ते । आतथ सूत्रत
एव । यो शुल्कूत्रं कथयेत्वादोऽगृह्येत ।

This is with the dullard ; for words are learnt only from sūtras. If, on the other hand, one deviates from *sūtra*, the sound alone and not the substance will be taken to account.

Having thus discussed the meaning of the word *Vyākarana*, and before handling the first sūtra of Ācārya Pāṇini, Mahābhāsyakāra has to deal with the Māheśvarasūtras made use of by Pāṇini and discussed by Vārtikakāra. He does this in the next āhnika in detail. In order that this

¹ Cf. Nimittasadbhāvāt mukhyavyapadeśō yasya asti, sa vyapadeśī, yastu vyapadeśāhētvabhbāvāt avidyāmānāvyapadeśāh sa tēna tulyam varfatē kāryam prati iti vyapadeśivad bhāvati iti ueyatē (Kātyāyaṇa 1-1-5 sūtra 21). Though *rāhu* and *śiras* are identical, yet there is the *vyavahāra* "rāhośśirah" where mind takes *rāhu* to be a whole and *śiras* to be a part. So also tho' *vyākarana* and *sūtra* are identical, yet in the *prayoga* 'vyākaranasya sūtram' the former is taken to be the whole and the latter a part.

¹ नादः may mean Sound or not this

āhnika may lead to it, he closes this with the next topic which deals with the Māheśvarasūtras as a whole, and which was handled by Vārtikakāra.

IX

When sounds are known from *mātrikākṣara*, why should Pāṇini have made use of the Māheśvarasūtras ?⁶

अथ किमयो वर्णनासुपदेशः ?

Now what for are the Māheśvarasūtras ?

वृत्तिसमवायार्थं उपदेशः :

वृत्तिसमवायार्थो वर्णनासुपदेशः :

Upadēśa is for *vṛttisamavāya*. Māheśvarasūtras are intended to supply different groups of letters suited to Pāṇini's method of composing sūtras.

किमिदं वृत्तिसमवायार्थं इति ?

Here what is *vṛttisamavāyārtha* ?

वृत्तये समवायो वृत्तिसमवायः, वृत्त्यर्थो वा समवायो वृत्तिसमवायः, वृत्तिप्रयोजनो वा समवायो वृत्तिसमवायः ।

Samavāya for *vṛtti*, *samarāya* for the sake of *vṛtti* and *samavāya* having for its fruit *vṛtti*.⁷

का पुनर्वृत्तिः? What then is *vṛttih*?

शास्त्रप्रवृत्तिः

Method of composing *sūtra* (Pāṇini's grammar).

* Even though the literal meaning is this, yet it should be taken to mean why should Pāṇini make use of Māheśvarasūtras when there is *mātrikākṣara*.

⁷ It should be noted that *vṛttisamarāya* should have for its *cigraha*, *vṛttih samavāyah*. Besides it is clear from this statement that the 14 sūtras are not the work of Pāṇini.

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अथ कः समवायः? What then is *samarāya*?

वर्णनामानुपूर्वेण सञ्जिवेशः

The grouping of letters in particular settings.

अथ क उपदेशः? What then is *upadēśa*?

उच्चारणम् Manifestation (when *dhakkā* was beaten).

कृत एतत्? How is this?

दिशिरुचारणक्रियः, उच्चार्य हि वर्णनाह, उपदिष्टा इमे वर्ण इति

The root *dis* means to pronounce; only by pronouncing the letters it is said that these letters are pronounced.

अनुबन्धकरणार्थश्च

अनुबन्धकरणार्थश्च वर्णनामुपदेशः, अनुबन्धानासङ्ख्यामि इति, न लग्नुपदिश्य वर्णनानुबन्धाः शक्या आसङ्कृतम् ।

For the sake of *anubandhakarana*. Māheśvarasūtras are intended for *anubandhu* or indicatory letter, so that I may associate them (with other letters). Without the sūtras, the letters cannot be associated with indicatory letters (which are called इत् by Pāṇini),

स एष वर्णनामुपदेशो वृत्तिसमवायार्थश्च अनुबन्धकरणार्थश्च; वृत्तिसमवायश्चानुबन्धकरणं च प्रत्याहारार्थम्, प्रत्याहारो वृत्त्यर्थः ।

This list of Māheśvarasūtras is for *vṛttisamavāya* and *anubandhakarana*. *Vṛttisamavāya* and *anubandhakarana* are for *pratyāhāra* and *pratygāhāra* is to facilitate the making of the *sāstra*.

इष्टवुद्धर्यर्थश्च

इष्टवुद्धर्यर्थश्च वर्णनामुपदेशः, इष्टान् वर्णन् भोक्त्यामहे इति । न लग्नुपदिश्य वर्णानिष्टा वर्णाः शक्या विज्ञातुम्^{*}

* Here भोक्त्यामहे and विज्ञातुम् are causal.

For the sake of enumerating the needed ones. Māhēśvara-sūtras are needed to give expression to the needed letters so that we may enumerate the needed letters. Without the sūtras it is not possible to express the needed letters alone.

इष्टबुद्ध्यर्थश्चेति चेदुदात्तानुदात्स्वरितानुनासिकदीर्घप्लुतानामप्युपदेशः

इष्टबुद्ध्यर्थश्चेति चेदुदात्तानुदात्स्वरितानुनासिकदीर्घप्लुतानामप्युपदेशः कर्तव्यः, एवंगुणा अपि हि वर्णा इप्यन्ते

If it is said *iṣṭabuddhyarthaśca, upadeśa* of letters with *udātta, anudātta* and *svarita*, accent and the nasalised, long and *pluta* letters (is needed). If it is said *iṣṭabuddhyarthaśca*, letters with *udātta, anudātta* and *svarita* accents and the nasalised, long and *pluta* letters should be read in the 14 sūtras, since we need letters having these qualities also.

आकृत्युपदेशान्विद्म्

अवर्णाकृतिल्पदिष्टा सर्वमवर्णकुलं महीप्यति, तथेवर्णाकृतिस्तथोवर्णाकृतिः

It is accomplished by taking that the genus of the letters is mentioned. The genus 'a' when pronounced includes the whole 'a-family'; so is the genus 'i' and the genus 'u'. †

आकृत्युपदेशान्विद्म् इति चेत् संवृतादीनां प्रतिषेधः

आकृत्युपदेशात् सिद्धमिति चेत् संवृतादीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः

If it is said that it is accomplished by taking the genus, prohibition of *samvṛta* and others. If it is said that it is accomplished by taking the genus, the letters with the defects of *samvṛta* etc. should be prohibited.

[†] It must be noted that though the genus cannot be pronounced without individuality, yet prominence is given to the genus part of it.

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के पुनः संवृतादयः ? What, then, are *samvṛtādi* ?

संवृतः, कलः, आतः, एणीकृतः, अम्बृकृतः, अर्धकः, ग्रस्तः, निरस्तः, प्रगीतः, उप-
गीतः, द्विष्णा:, रोमशः, इति । अपर आह-

ग्रस्तं निरस्तमवलभितं^८ हत-
मन्वृकृतं आतमथो विकम्पितम् ।
सन्दृष्टमेणीकृतमर्थकं द्रुतं
विकीर्णमेताः स्वरदोषमावनाः ॥ इति

अतोऽन्ये व्यञ्जनदोषाः

They are sounds which are closed, pronounced in wrong place, lengthened, ambiguous, not clear, shortened, inaudible, harsh, sung, attached to the syllable that is sung, shaking, and superloud. In the opinion of another the defective sounds are those which are inaudible, harsh, mixed with another sound, unpleasant to the ear, not clear, lengthened, shaking, prolonged, ambiguous, shortened, quick and going into another sound. Distinct from these are the defective ways of pronouncing consonants.

नैप दोषः This defect cannot stand.

गर्गादिविदादिपाठात् संवृतादीनां निवृत्तिः
गर्गादिविदादिपाठात् संवृतादीनां निवृत्तिर्मविष्यति

The defects—*samvṛta* and others are avoided by *gargādi-pātha* and *bīḍūdipātha*. The defects—*samvṛta* and others are avoided by Pāṇini's reading the collections of words headed by *Garga* and *Bida*.

^८ अविलभिते निहृतम् is another reading.

*अस्त्यन्यद् गर्गादिविदादिपाठे प्रयोजनम्

There is another purpose served by *gargādibidādipātha*.

कि ? What ?

समुदायानां साखुलं यथा स्यात् इति

So that the whole words like *Garga* may be taken to be correct (and not their parts).

एवं तहि अष्टादशाधा भिन्नां निवृत्तकलादिकाम् अवर्णस्य प्रत्यापत्तिं वक्ष्यामि¹

If so, sūtras इइ, उउ etc., like अअ will be read so that each letter may denote only one of the correct eighteen and not the defective ones.

सा तहि वक्तव्या Then should it be read.

लिङ्गार्था तु प्रत्यापत्तिः

लिङ्गार्था सा तहि भवति

The repetition will signify something. It (repetition like इइ, उउ) will, then, have certain significance (that whatever defects each letter may have had in *prakriyādaśā*, it is free from them in *prayōgadaśā*).

तत्तहि वक्तव्यम् Then should it be read,

यदप्येतदुच्यते, अथवैतहि अनेकमनुवन्धशातं नोचार्यम्, इत्संज्ञा च न वक्तव्या,
लोपथं न वक्तव्यः । यदनुवन्धैः कियते तत्कलादिभिः करिष्यते

* In the Benares edition it is conjectured that there should be a
vārtika समुदायसाखुलार्थं तु गर्गादिविदादिपाठः

¹ Cf. अवर्णस्य अअ इति छृतैव, तदृत तदग्नतरभन्येषामायि करिष्यामि इति भावः (Uddyota)

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If it is said so, then thousands of *anubandhas* (like कृ and हृ in टक्क) need not be said, they need not be named इत् and the sūtra हृलन्त्यम् which enjoins their *lōpa* need not be read.

सिद्ध्यत्वेवम् । अपाणिनीयं तु भवति । यथान्यासमेवास्तु ।

The object is then accomplished ; but it goes against Pāṇini's sūtras. Hence let the sūtras be as they are.

ननु चोक्तम् 'आकृत्युपदेशान्तिर्द्विमिति चेत्संब्रूतादीनां प्रतिषेधः' इति

Has it not been said that, if everything is accomplished by *ākṛtyupadēśa*, prohibition of *samvṛta* and others is to be made.

परिहृतमेतत्—गर्गादिविदादिपाठात् संब्रूतादीनां निवृतिर्मविष्यति इति

That objection has been met by the statement that the defects—*samvṛta* and others are avoided by *gargādibidādi-pāṭha*.

ननु चान्यद् गर्गादिविदादिपाठे प्रयोजनमुक्तम् !

Oh ! another was said to be the purpose served by *gargādibidādi-pāṭha*.

किम् ? What ?

समुदायानां साधुत्वं यथा स्वादिति

So that the whole words may be taken to be correct.

एवं तर्हि उभयमनेन किलते, पाठश्वेव विशेष्यते, कलादयश्च निवर्त्यन्ते

If so, both are accomplished by it—the correct reading is understood and the defects are removed.

कथं पुनरेकेन यत्नेनोभयं लभ्यम् ?

How can both be accomplished through one effort ?

लभ्यमित्याह । Can be accomplished, says he.

कथम् ? How ?

द्विगता अपि हेतवो भवन्ति । तथा—आम्राश्च सिक्काः पितरश्च प्रीणिता इति तथा वाक्यानि द्विष्टानि भवन्ति—धेतो धावति, अलम्बुसानां^१ याता इति ।

There are causes which have two effects :—viz., Mango trees are watered and manes are satisfied. So also are sentences having two meanings—viz., *śvētō dhāvati* (white man cleans ; dog runs from here); *alambusānām yātā*. (He who goes to *alambusā* ; one that can get the colour of straw).

अथवा इदं तावदये प्रष्टतः—केमे संवृतादयः श्रूयेरतिति ।

Or he is to be put this question, “where can be heard the defective sounds like *samvrta* ?”

आगमेषु In augments.

आगमाः शुद्धाः पञ्चन्ते Augments are correctly read.

विकरेषु तहि If so, in *ādēśas*.

विकारा अपि शुद्धाः पञ्चन्ते *Ādēśas* also are correctly read.

प्रत्ययेषु तहि If so, in *pratyayas*.

प्रत्यया अपि शुद्धाः पञ्चन्ते

Even *pratyayas* are correctly read.

धातुषु तहि In roots then.

धातवोऽपि शुद्धाः पञ्चन्ते Even roots are correctly read.

प्रातिपदिकेषु तहि In stems then.

^१ वुसानाम् = पलालवृण्णनाम्; (*Annambhāṭṭa*) पलालवृण्णनाम् (*Nāgōjibhāṭṭa*)

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प्रतिपदिकान्यपि शुद्धानि पठ्यन्ते Even stems are correctly read.

यानि तर्ष्णहणानि प्रातिपदिकानि ?

Those stems which are not derivable from roots?

एतेषामपि स्वरवर्णानुपूर्वज्ञानार्थं उपदेशः कर्तव्यः, शशः एष इति मा भूत्, पलाशः पलाप इति मा भूत्, मञ्चको मञ्चक इति मा भूत्

Enumeration of such stems also need be made so that the nature and order of sounds in them may be known and शश, पलाश, and मञ्चक may not be misread as शप, पलाप and मञ्जक respectively.

आगमाश्च विकाराश्च भल्याः सह धातुभिः ।

उच्चार्यन्ते ततस्तेषु नेमे प्राप्ताः कलादयः ॥

Augments, substitutes and suffixes are correctly read with roots. Hence there is no opportunity for the defects like *kala* to happen there.

From the above it is clear that the objection "इष्टदुद्घयर्थं इचेति...उपदेशः" does not stand. Hence इष्टदुद्घयर्थश्च need not be mentioned as a *prayojana*.*

इति धीमद्गवत्तत्त्वसिरविने महाभाष्ये प्रथमात्यायस्य प्रथमपादे प्रथममाहिकम् ॥

Paspasāhnikat ends.

* Cf. वणोपदेशात्य सुख्यं कर्ते तु प्रत्याहासनिष्ठिः (Sabda-kāustubha).

† Annambhatta in his *Uddyotana* has quoted a verse which says that the word *paspasa* means *upodghāta* or introduction.

शालस्यारम्भके ग्रन्थ उपोद्घात इतीरितः ।

म् एव अन्वसन्दर्भः पस्पदः कथितो दुर्धैः ॥

He has mentioned the word पस्पदः in the masculine gender. But Nāgōjibhatta has mentioned पस्पदा in the feminine gender. Cf. अत एव पस्पदात्याम् भाष्ये (Laghumañjūsa) under the topic त्रुद्वाकर्यं न ग्रमाणम् in तिर्थ-निरूपण.

2. प्रत्याहाराहिकम्

Having dealt with the use of the fourteen Māhēśvarasūtras *in toto* at the end of the previous āhnika, Mahābhāṣyakāra deals with the following eight sūtras in detail in this āhnika:- अङ्गउण्, कलृक्, एओङ् पेऽनीच, हयवरद्, लण्, अमङ्गणनम् and शमञ्. Hence this āhnika is called प्रत्याहाराहिकम्.

अ इ उ ण्

There are three topics in this sūtra. There should be vivṛtōpadēśa (1) in अ of अङ्गउण्, (2) in अ of roots, stems etc. and (3) in अ of the sūtras like अत्य चौ, यस्येति च.

I

अकारस्य विवृतोपदेश आकारमहणार्थः

अकारस्य विवृतोपदेशः कर्तव्यः * | कि प्रयोजनम् ? आकारमहणार्थः—अकारः सर्वणिमहणेन आकारमपि यथा गृहीयात्

The *vivṛtōpadēśa* of *akāra* is to comprehend *ākāra* also. The *vivṛtōpadēśa* of *akāra* is necessary. Why? For the sake of comprehending *ākāra*—so that *akāra* may comprehend *ākāra* by the sūtra अषुदित्सर्वणस्य चाप्रत्ययः which enables अण् and उदित् to comprehend *savarnas*.

* This sentence may be interpreted in two ways:—(1) The *vivṛtōpadēśa* suggested by the sūtra 'अ अ' is necessary, or (2) *vivṛtōpadēśa* must be enjoined to अ. In the latter case both *vivṛtōpadēśa* and its reason are enjoined and in the former case the reason alone.

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किं च करणं न गृहीयात् ?

Why will it not comprehend ?

विवारमेदात्

By the difference in their *ābhyanṭara-prayatna*.

किमुच्यते विवारमेदादिति न पुनः कालमेदादपि, यथैव तथं विवारमित्रः एवं कालभिन्नोऽपि !

How is it that mention is made of the difference in *ābhyanṭaraprayatna* alone and not of the difference in *mātrā* also, since it (*ākāra*) differs from *akāra* in *mātrā* in the same way as it differs from it in *ābhyanṭaraprayatna* ?

सत्यमेवमेतत्; वद्यति “ तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सर्वर्णम् ” इत्यत्र आस्यग्रहणस्य प्रयोजनम् ‘आस्ये येषां तुल्यो देशः प्रयत्नश्च ते सर्वर्णसंज्ञा भवन्ति इति ; वाहश्च पुनरास्याकाळः ’, तेन स्यादेव कालभिन्नस्य ग्रहणं न पुनर्विवारमित्रम्य ।

True, so is it; Mahābhāṣyakāra is going to say in the bhāṣya under the sūtra तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सर्वर्णम् that the need for the word आस्यम् in the sūtra is to suggest that only such sounds as have the same place of articulation and the manner of articulation within the mouth become *savarṇas*. Quantity of a sound is determined outside the mouth. Hence one sound can comprehend another having different quantity but not having different *ābhyanṭaraprayatna*.

किं पुनरिदं विवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य प्रयोजनमन्वास्यायते, आहोस्ति संवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य विवृतोपदेशश्चोदते :

^१ नाभिप्रदेश एव निश्चिटप्रयत्नमात् दीर्घादिनिष्ठत्वा नाभेष्य आस्यात् वाह्यतात् कालस्य वायुत्वम् (Kaiyāla). नाभिप्रदेश एव वायोः प्रकारप्रयत्नमारम्भते इति कालस्य वायुत्वम् अस्येव (Prā-dipikā).

^२ द्रवम् = अत्र (f.). इवमहमशुभ्रवाच (शतपथब्राह्मणम् 1. 3. 5. 7).

Is it here that the purpose of *vivṛtōpadēśa* is enumerated or that *vivṛtōpadēśa* is enjoined to that which has *sāmvr̥tōpadēśa* ?

विवृतस्योपदिद्यमानस्य प्रयोजनमन्वाग्यायते

The purpose of *vivṛtōpadēśa* is enumerated.

कथं ज्ञायते ? How is it so interpreted ?

यदयम् अ अ इत्यकारस्य विवृतस्य संवृततापत्यापत्तिं शास्ति

Since the *Sūtrakāra* enjoins in the sūtra अ अ that the *vivṛta-akāra* becomes *sāmvr̥ta* by the *pratyāpatti*.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम्, अस्ति छन्ददेतस्य वचने प्रयोजनम्

This sūtra does not suggest it ; for another purpose is served by it.

किम् ? What is it ?

अतिख्‍यः; अतिमालः इत्यत्र आन्तर्यतो विवृतस्य विवृतः प्राप्नोति, संवृतः स्यादिल्येवमर्था प्रत्यापत्तिः

Vivṛta-akāra will replace *vivṛta-akāra* in the words अतिखद्वः and अतिमालः on account of similarity ; the *pratyāpatti* is for the sake of *sāmvr̥ta-akāra* replacing *vivṛta-akāra* in them.

नैतदस्ति ; नैव लोके न च वेदे अकारो विवृतोऽस्ति*

No, that cannot be ; there is no *vivṛta-akāra* either in ordinary usage or in Vēda.

कस्तुहि ?

If so, which is it (that is found in *lōka* or Vēda) ?

* It may be interesting to note that *a* is now pronounced in Southern India only as an open sound and it may be due to the influence of the pronunciation of *u* in Tamil language.

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संवृतः । योऽस्ति स भविष्यति । तदेतत्प्रलापत्तिवचनं^{*} ज्ञापकमेव भविष्यति
विवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य प्रयोजनमन्वास्यायत इति

Saṁvṛta-akāra. That which is, appears there. Hence the statement of *pratyūpatti* suggests that the purpose of *vivṛtōpadēśa* is enumerated.

कः पुनरत्र विशेषः विवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य प्रयोजनमन्वास्यायेत्, संवृतस्योपदिश्य-
मानस्य वा विवृतोपदेशः चोद्येत् इति !

What is the speciality here whether it is taken that the purpose of *vivṛtōpadēśa* is enumerated or that *vivṛtōpadēśa* is enjoined to that which has *saṁvṛtōpadēśu* ?

न खलु कथिद्विशेषः; आहोपुरुषिकामात्रं तु; भवानाह संवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य
विवृतोपदेशश्चोद्यते इति, वयं तु दूसः विवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य प्रयोजनमन्वास्यायत इति
No speciality whatsoever; it is only conceit; you say that *vivṛtōpadēśa* is enjoined to that which has *saṁvṛtōpadēśa* and we say that the purpose of *vivṛtōpadēśa* is enumerated.

II

तस्य विवृतोपदेशादन्यत्रापि विवृतोपदेशः सर्वर्णग्रहणार्थः

तस्यैतस्याक्षरसमाज्ञायिकस्य विवृतोपदेशादन्यत्रापि विवृतोपदेशः कर्तव्यः

On account of its *vivṛtōpadēśa*, there is need for *vivṛtōpadēśa* elsewhere to comprehend like sounds. Since there has been *vivṛtōpadēśa* in the *akāra* of अङ्ग of the Māhēśvara-sūtras, there is need to declare *vivṛtōpadēśa* elsewhere also.

कान्यत्र : Which does elsewhere refer to ?

* प्रत्यापत्तिः = Reversion to original state. Cf. स्वरूपाद्वि प्रच्छुतस्य पुनः स्वरूपे अवस्थाने प्रत्यापत्तिः (Uddyōtana).

धातुप्रातिपदिकप्रत्ययनिपातस्थस्य

The *akāra* in *dhātu*, *prātipadika*, *pratyaya* and *nipāta*.

कि प्रयोजनम् ? Why ?

सर्वं ग्रहणार्थः, आक्षरसमाज्ञायिकेनास्य ग्रहणं यथा स्यात्

So that it may comprehend *like sounds*. So that this may be comprehended by the *akāra* of Māheśvarasūtras.

कि च कारणं न स्यात् ?

Why will it not be comprehended ?

विवारभेदादेव

Evidently through the difference in the *abhyantaraprayatna*.

आचार्यपूत्रिज्ञापयति भवत्याक्षरसमाज्ञायिकेन धात्वादिस्थस्य ग्रहणमिति, यदयम् अकः सर्वे दीर्घः इति प्रत्याहारे अको ग्रहणं करोति

Ācārya's usage suggests that the *akāra* of *dhātu*, etc., is comprehended by that in Māheśvarasūtras since he uses the word *akah* in the sūtra अकः सर्वे दीर्घः:

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम् ?

How is it to be interpreted so that it may become a *jñāpaka* ?

न हि द्वयोराक्षरसमाज्ञायिकयोर्युगपत्समवस्थानमस्ति

For two *akāras* do not exist simultaneously in Māheśvara-sūtras.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम्, अस्ति यन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयोजनम्

This cannot become a *jñāpaka*, for there is another purpose served by the use of this *akah*.

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किम् ? What is it ?

यस्याक्षरसमाज्ञायिकेन ग्रहणमत्ति तदर्थमेतत्स्यात् स्वट्टवाढकं, मालाढकम् इति

It is used where it can be applied to the *akāras* comprehended by *a* in the Māheśvara sūtras—viz., स्वट्टवाढकम्, मालाढकम्.^{*}

सति प्रयोजने न ज्ञापकं भवति, तस्मात् विवृतोपदेशः कर्तव्यः

If there is a *prayojana*, it does not become a *jñāpaka* and hence there is need for *vivṛtōpadēśa*.

अकं एष यत्क्षेयते विवृतोपदेशो नाम, विवृतो वा उपदिक्येत संवृतो वा, को न्वन् विशेषः ?

What for is this attempt about *vivṛtōpadēśa*? Let *vivṛtōpadēśa* be made or *sainvṛtōpadēśa*; what is the difference?

स एष सर्वं एवमध्यो यज्ञः क्रियते, यान्येतानि प्रतिपदिकान्यग्रहणानि, तेषामेतेनाभ्युपायेन उपदेशाश्चेयते, तद् गुरु भवति । तस्माद्गुरुत्वं धात्रादिस्थश्च विवृत इति

All this attempt is made for the sake of non-derivable stems. If this *vivṛtōpadēśa* is not made, all such stems will have to be read and it will be a stupendous task. Hence the *akāra* of *dhātu* etc., should have *vivṛtōpadēśa*.

दीर्घप्लुतवचने च संवृतनिवृत्त्यर्थः

दीर्घप्लुतवचने च संवृतनिवृत्त्यर्थो विवृतोपदेशःकर्तव्यः, दीर्घप्लुतौ संवृतौ मा भूताम् इति वृक्षाभ्यां, देवदत्ता ३ इति

To ward off *sainvṛtatva* in the long and *pluta* sounds. There is need for *vivṛtōpadēśa* to ward off *sainvṛtatva* in long and

* It may be applied where *ā* and *ā* coalesce, since *ā* is comprehended by the *a* of अइउए on the strength of the sūtra अग्निदित्तवर्णस्य चाप्लव्यः

† This question is based upon the assumption that the *akāra* in *dhātu* etc., is read with *vivṛtāprayatna*.

pluta sounds (*i.e.*) that long and plutia sounds in words like वृक्षाभ्यां, देवदत्ता ३ may not become *samvṛta*.

नेव लोके न च वेदे दीर्घप्लुतौ संवृतौ स्तः

Neither in usage nor in Vēda are long and plutia sounds closed ones.

कौं तर्हि? What then?

विवृतौ, यौ स्तः तौ भविष्यतः

Open ones; those that are will certainly appear.

स्थानी प्रकल्पयेदतावनुस्वारो यथा यणम्

संवृतः स्थानी संवृतौ दीर्घप्लुतौ प्रकल्पयेत्, अनुस्वारः यथा यणम्, तदथा सम्यन्ता सञ्चल्पस्तरः, यस्त्वोकं, तस्त्वोकम् इति; अनुस्वारः स्थानी यणमनुनासिकं प्रकल्पयति।

Sthānin will produce these two as *anusvāra* brings in nasalised semivowels. The closed *sthānin* will bring in closed long and plutia sounds as *anusvāra* brings in nasalised semivowels. *viz.*, सम्यन्ता, सञ्चल्पस्तरः, यस्त्वोकम्, तस्त्वोकम्. The *sthānin* which is *anusvāra* brings in nasalised semivowels.

विषम उपन्यासः, युक्तं यस्तत्स्तवं प्रकल्पितमेवति; सन्ति हि यणः सानुनासिका निरनुनासिकाश्च; दीर्घप्लुतौ पुनर्नैव लोके न च वेदे संवृतौ स्तः

The reasoning is not sound. It is but just to bring in what exists; there are semivowels both nasalised and non-nasalised; but the long and plutia sounds are closed ones neither in usage nor in Vēda.

कौं तर्हि? What then?

विवृतौ । यौ स्तः तौ भविष्यतः

Open sounds. Those that are will appear.

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प्रदमपि कुत एतत् तु व्यथानां प्रयत्नभिन्नौ भविष्यतः, न पुनस्तुल्यप्रयत्नौ स्थानभिन्नौ स्थानाम् इकार ऊकारो वेति.

Granting this, how is it that only those that have the same organ of articulation but different *prayatnas* are taken to be like sounds and not those who have the same *prayatna* but different organs of articulation, like *i* and *u* ?

वश्यति स्थानेन्तरतमः इत्यत्र स्थान इत्यनुर्वर्तमाने पुनः स्थानेग्रहणस्य प्रयोजने यत्र अनेकविधमान्तर्य तत्र स्थानतः आन्तर्य वलीयो भवतीति^{*} ।

He is going to say in the *bhāṣya* under the sūtra स्थानेऽन्तरतमः that, though the word स्थाने can be taken there to follow from the sūtra पष्टी स्थानेयोगा, the mention of स्थाने there suggests that, of the many kinds of relationships, that from the organ of articulation predominates.

III

तत्रानुवृत्तिनिर्देशः सवर्णाग्रहणमनण्वात्

तत्र अनुवृत्तिनिर्देशो सवर्णानां ग्रहणं न प्राप्नोति—अस्य चौ, यस्येति च । किं कारणम् ? अनण्वात्, न लोते अणः येऽनुवृत्तौ

There in the *akāra* as in अङ्गण there cannot be *savarnāgrahana* since it is not an *an*. There in the sūtras अस्य चौ, यस्येति च where there is the mention of *akāra* as in अङ्गण of the Māheśvarasūtras, it cannot comprehend like sounds. Why ? Since it does not come under the *pratyāhāra an*. Those which are in *anuvṛtti* are not *anah*.

* स्थानत एवान्तर्य वलीयो यथा स्थान, is another reading.

† अनुवृत्तिनिर्देशः—वृत्ति वर्णसमाज्ञात्यम् अनुग्रहः तत्सद्वदः अनुवृत्तिः अकारादिः, तस्य निर्देशः स्वरूपण उच्चारणम् इत्यथः (उच्चोत under अणुदिस्वर्णस्य चप्रत्ययः)

के तर्हि ?

If so, which are *anah* ?

येऽक्षरसमाज्ञाये उपदिश्यन्ते

Those that are read in *Māhēśvarasūtras*.

एकत्वादकारस्य सिद्धम्

एकोऽयमकारो यथाक्षरसमाज्ञाये यथानुवृत्तौ यथा धात्वादिस्थः

The point is achieved on account of oneness of *akāra*. This *akāra* is one whether it is in अहृतण, अस्य च्वौ etc., or in *dhātu* etc.

अनुबन्धसंकरस्तु

अनुबन्धसंकरस्तु प्राप्नोति कर्मण्यण, आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः इति, केऽपि णित्यते प्राप्नोति

Confusion in the effect of *anubandhas*. There will arise confusion in the effect of the different *anubandhas*. For instance, the operation of the sūtras कर्मण्यण and आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः will be so confused that the effect of णित्य will be found in कित्.

एकाजनेकाज्यहणेषु चानुपपत्तिः

एकाजनेकाज्यहणेषु चानुपपत्तिर्मिवति^{१०}

Also the inapplicability of the sūtras dealing with *ekāc* and *anēkāc*. There will arise inapplicability of the sūtras dealing with words having one vowel and those having many vowels.

तत्र को दोषः ? What will be the harm there ?

^{१०} भविष्यति is another reading. The word एकाच generally means a syllable, but here it means a vowel.

किरिणा गिरिणा इत्येकाज्ज्ञानमन्तोदात्रत्वं प्राप्नोति, इह च घटेन तरति घटिक
इति व्यञ्जकः मुन् न प्राप्नोति

In the words किरिणा and गिरिणा the final syllable will be accented since there is only one vowel *i* in both. So also the pratyaya *iku* (*sthan*) which is enjoined after a word having two vowels cannot appear after the word घट so that the word घटिक used in the sense of one who crosses with the help of a pot cannot be formed.

द्रव्यवच्चोपचाराः

द्रव्यवच्चोपचाराः प्राप्नुवन्ति । तद्यथा—द्रव्येषु नैकेन घटेन अनेको युगपत्कार्यं
करोति; एवम् इममकारं नानेको युगपदुच्चारयेत्

Applications as in *dravyas*. Applications have to be done as in the case of *dravyas*. As many cannot simultaneously make use of one pot among *dravyas*, so also many cannot pronounce this *akāra* simultaneously.

The three objections raised against the statement एकस्वा-
दकारस्य सिद्धम् are answered as follows :—

विषयेण तु नानालिङ्गकरणात्सिद्धम्

यद्यं विषये विषये नानालिङ्गमकारं करोति—कर्मण्, आतोऽनुपसर्गं कः इति
तेन ज्ञायते नानुवन्धनसङ्करोऽस्तीति। यदि हि स्यात् नानालिङ्गकरणमनर्थकं स्यात्, एक-
मेवावं सर्वगुणमुच्चारयेत्

The point is achieved on account of the different indications in each place. Since the Ācārya makes different indications in each place like 'ण' in कर्मण् and क in आतोऽनुपसर्गं कः, it is learnt that there is no confusion in the effect of *anubandhas*. Had there been any confusion, the reading of different indications will be of no avail; he would have read only one *akāra* with all *anubandhus*.

नेतदिस्ति जापकम्, इत्सज्ञाभक्लृप्त्यर्थमेतत्स्यात्; न छयमनुवन्धे: शब्दकवच्छब्द उपचेतुम्, इत्सज्ञायां हि दोषः स्यात्, आयम्य हि द्वयोरिस्त्वा स्यात्। कथोः? आद्यन्तयोः:

This is not a *jñāpaka* since it is intended to enable them get the designation of इत्; for it is not possible to heap *anubandhas* like porcupine (its quills), since in such a case there will be difficulty in getting the designation of इत्; all being put together, the designation of इत् is possible only for two. For which two? For the initial and the final sounds.

एवं तर्हि,

विषयेण तु पुनर्लिङ्गकरणात्मदम्

यद्यं विषये विषये पुनर्लिङ्गमकारं करोति—प्राचीव्यतोऽग्, शिवादिभ्योऽग्नि इति । तेन जायते नानुवन्धसङ्गरोऽल्पतीति । यदि हि स्यात्पुनर्लिङ्गकरणमनर्थकं स्यात् ।

If so, the point is achieved on account of the repetition of the same indicator in different places, like अग् in प्राचीव्यतोऽग्, शिवादिभ्योऽग्नि. Hence it is understood that there is no *anubandha-sankara*. If it were, the repetition of the same *anubandha* will be of no avail.

* अथवा पुनरस्तु

विषयेण तु नानालिङ्गकरणात्मदम्

इत्पेत्र

Or let it be that the point is achieved on account of the different indicators in each place.

* This argument is perhaps Mahābhāṣyakāra's own.

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ततु चोक्तम्—इलंजाप्रकलृप्त्यर्थमेतत् स्यात् इति !

Has it not been said that it is intended to enable them get the designation of इत् ?

‘नेव दोषः । लोकत एतलिङ्गदम् । तदथा लोके कथितदेवं देवदत्तमाह—इह मुण्डो भव, इह जटिलो भव, इह शिखी भव, इति यस्मिन्नो वत्रोच्यते तलिङ्गस्तत्रोपतिष्ठते । एवमयगकारो वस्त्रिङ्गो वत्रोच्यते तलिङ्गस्तत्रोपस्थास्यते ।

No, that objection cannot stand. The purpose is achieved as it is in the world. For instance we see in the world one telling Dēvadatta, “Appear here with a shaven head, appear here with matted hair, appear here with a tuft” and Dēvadatta coming there with that particular mark. So also it is only that akāra having the mentioned indicator appears on the scene.

यदप्युच्यते ‘एकाज्ञेकाज्ञाहणेषु चानुपपत्तिः’ इति,

एकाज्ञेकाज्ञाहणेषु चात्रुचिसंख्यानात्

एकाज्ञेकाज्ञाहणेषु चाहृते: संख्यानादनेकाल्वं भविष्यति । तदथा ‘सप्तश्च सामिक्षेन्नो भवन्ति’ इति, ‘त्रिं भवनामन्वाह त्रिरुत्तमाम्’ इत्यावृत्तिः सप्तश्च भवन्ति । एतमिहा यावृत्तिनोऽलेकाल्वं भविष्यति

The objection that was raised about the inapplicability of the sūtras dealing with *ekāc* and *anekāc* is met thus— by counting the repeated sound in the sūtras dealing with *ekāc* and *anekāc*. *Anekācvara* is accomplished in the sūtras dealing with *ekāc* and *anekāc* by counting the repeated sounds. For instance *sāmīḍhēṇī rks* are counted as seventeen (though they are only thirteen in number) by reading the first and the last *rks* thrice each. So also *anekācvara* is accomplished here by the repetition of the same sound.

भवेदावृत्तिः कार्यं परिहृतम् । इह तु लब्धु किरिणा गिरिणा इत्येकान्तर्जन-
मन्त्रोदाचत्वं प्राप्नोति

The objection was met with by saying that the desired object is achieved by the repetition. But here in the words किरिणा and गिरिणा, only the final syllable will be accented since there is only one vowel इ in both.

एतदपि सिद्धम्

Here too the desired object is achieved,

कथम्? How?

लोकतः—तदथा त्रिषिंहस्तमेकां कपिलाभैकशः सहस्रशुचौ दृश्या तथा सर्वे
ते सहस्रदक्षिणाः संपत्ताः । एवमिहापि अनेकाच्चत्वं भविष्यति

From the world. A thousand of seers get the fruit of having given away in charity thousand cows though there is only one brown cow, each giving her thousand times (by purchasing it back every time from the recipient). So also *anekāccha* is accomplished here.

* यदप्युच्यते ‘द्रव्यवचोपचारः प्राप्नुवन्तीतिः भवेद् यदसंगवि कार्यं नजानेको
युगपत्कुर्यात्; यत्तु लब्धु संभवि कार्यं अनेकोऽपि तद्युगपत्करोति । तदथा घटस्य
दर्शनं स्फृशनं वा । संभवि चेदं कार्यमकारस्तोचासणं नाम; अनेकोऽपि तद्युगपत्
करिष्यति

The objection that was raised that the applications are as in the case of *dravyas* is met thus:—it is true in the case of that

* It deserves to be noted that there is no *varttika* answering the objection raised by इच्यवचोपचारः. Perhaps the same *varttika* was read here also and was interpreted by Mahābhāṣyakāra in a different way, but was omitted by the scribe.

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which is not possible for many to handle simultaneously, but in cases where many can handle the same thing at the same time it is not true. For instance the seeing of a pot or the touching of it. The pronouncing of *akāra* is thus possible; many pronounce it at the same time.

From the above it is clear that all the objections raised against the statement पक्षत्वादकार्य सिद्धम् have been satisfactorily answered. Henceforth another set of objections is thrown against the same statement.

आत्मभाव्यं तु कालशब्दव्यवायात्

आन्यभाव्यत्वकारस्य, कुतः? कालयत्त्ववायात्—कालयत्वायात् शब्द-
ज्ञवाच्च; कालयत्वायात् दण्ड-अग्रम्; शब्दयत्वायात्—दण्डः। न चैकस्यात्मनो
ज्ञवायेन भवित्व्यम्: भवति चेद्गत्यान्यभाव्यमकारस्य

No, there is the state of being different on account of the intervention of time and sound. There is the state of being different in *akāra*. Why? On account of the intervention of time and sound — on account of the intervention of time and on account of the intervention of sound—viz. दण्ड-अग्रम्, दण्डः. There is no intervention for the same sound. If there is intervention, they are different.

युवापत्र देशपृथक्कर्त्तवद्वर्गनान्

युगपच देशमुखवत्वदशीलान्मन्यामहे आन्यभाव्यमकारम्य इति, यदयं युगपद्व-
पृथक्कर्त्तेषुपुलभ्यते असुः अर्हः अर्थ इति । न हेतो देवदत्तो युगपत्तुमे च भवति
मध्यात्मां च ॥

On account of its being found simultaneously in different places. Since the *akaru* is found in different places at the same time,

we think they are different. It is found in different places at the same time in the words अङ्गः, अर्कः, अर्थः. The same Dēvadatta cannot remain at the same time at Srughna and at Mathurā.

यदि पुनरिमे वर्णाः

शकुनिवत्स्युः *

तथाचा शकुलय आशुगामित्वात्पुरस्तादुत्पतिताः पश्चादृश्यन्ते, एवमयमकारो द
इत्यत्र हष्टो षड् इत्यत्र हृश्यते

If these sounds are like birds. Just as the birds that seat themselves first in a row quickly fly from their places and seat themselves last, so also the *akāra* is first found after 'द' and then after 'षट्'

नैवं शक्यम्, अनित्यत्वमेव सात् । नित्याश्च जब्दाः, नित्येषु च शब्देषु
कृत्यैरविचालिभिर्वर्णभिर्वित्त्यमनपांयोपज्ञविकारिभिः । यदि चायं द् इत्यत्र हष्टो
षड् इत्यत्र हृश्येत नायं कृत्यस्य स्मात्

No, this is not possible, for in that case words will become *anitya*. They are, on the other hand, *nitya* and so words should have sounds which do not move, change and which are neither replaced nor augmented. If the 'a' which is seen after 'd' is afterwards seen after 'ṣṭ', it cannot be considered *kūṭastha*.

यदि पुनरिमे वर्णाः

* This is in answer to the objection कालजन्दव्यवायात्

आदित्यवत्स्युः *

तद्वथा एक आदित्योऽनेकाधिकरणस्ये युगपद्मेशपृथक्त्वेषूपलभ्यते

If these sounds are taken to be like the sun. The one sun in different places is seen simultaneously.

विषम उपन्यासः, नैको द्रष्टा आदित्यमनेकाधिकरणस्ये युगपद्मेशपृथक्त्वेषूपलभ्यते, अकारं पुनरुपलभ्यते ॥

The reasoning is not sound. The same observer does not see the sun in different places at the same time; but he sees *so akāra*, on the other hand.

अकारमपि लोपलभ्यते

He does not see *akāra* also.

किं कारणम्? Why?

ओत्रोपलभित्रवृद्धिनिर्भीषः प्रयोगेणाभित्रलित आकाशदेशः गच्छः, एकं च पुनराकाशम्.

Sabda which is heard by the ear, understood by the mind and exhibited by the sound has for its place only *ākāśa* and *ākāśa* is one.

आकाशदेशा अपि चह्वः, यावता चह्वः तस्मादान्यमात्यमकारस्य

The *ākīśodēśas* also are many. Since they are many, the many-ness of *akāra* should be conceded.

* This is in answer to the objection युगपद्मे चालपृथक्त्वदर्शनात्

(f) आदित्यवत्यौगपद्म् (*Jaiminīya sūtra* 1—1—15); जास्त नैकमनेकाधिकरणस्ये युगपत्—
आदित्यः (*Vārtikas* under मूलपाणमेकशोष एकविभक्तौ 1—2—64)

आकृतिग्रहणात्मदम् *

अवर्णाकृतिस्थिरादिष्टा सर्वस्वर्णकुलं ग्रहीष्यति, तथैवर्णाकृतिः, तथोवर्णाकृतिः

The object is achieved by taking it to refer to genus. The genus *a* when pronounced comprehends the whole family of the individuality *a*. So is the genus of *i* and so is the genus of *n*.

तद्वच्च तपरकरणम्

एवं च कृत्वा तपराः कियन्ते आकृतिग्रहणेनातिप्रसक्तमिति

The association of the *ambandha* अङ्ग has it (आकृतिपक्ष) in view.

तनु च सर्वर्णग्रहणेनातिप्रसक्तमिति कृत्वा तपराः कियेत्वा

Are they not associated with त् to avoid the comprehension of like sounds?

प्रत्यास्त्वायते तत् सर्वर्णऽग्रहणमपरिभाष्यमाकृतिग्रहणादनन्यत्वाच्च

It is refuted thus सर्वर्णऽग्रहणमपरिभाष्यमाकृतिग्रहणादनन्यत्वाच्च (in the sūtra (अणुदित्सर्वर्णस्य चात्ययः))

हल्लग्रहणेषु च

In the sūtras dealing with consonants.

किम्? What?

आकृतिग्रहणात्मदमित्येव । शलो झलि अवाचाम्, अवाचम्, अवाच्, यत्रैत-
त्वान्ति अणुसर्वर्णान् गुह्याति इति ॥

The object is achieved by taking them refer to genus. The words अवाचाम्, अवाचम्, अवाच् will be formed from अवास् - स् - ताम्,

* Cf. आकृतिग्रहणात्मदमित्येव । विभक्तौ चात्यागतः (Vārtika under सर्वपाणामेकशोष
एकविभक्तौ 1—2—64.)

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अवास् - स् - गम्, अवास् - न् - न् by the application of शब्दो हलि where there is no room for the principle अव लवण्यान् शुक्राति to operate.

रूपसामान्यादा

रूपसामान्यादा सिद्धमेतत् । तदेव शाटकानाच्छादयामः ये मधुरायाम् । 'तानेव शालीन् भुञ्जमहे ये मगधेषु', 'तदेवेवं भवतः कार्पाणीयन्मधुरादां गृहीनम्', अन्यस्मिक्षान्यस्मिन् रूपसामान्यात्तदेवेवमिति भवति । एवमिहापि रूपसामान्यात् सिद्धम् ॥

Or by the similarity of shape.

This is achieved even by the similarity of shape. For instance even though objects are different, they are taken to be one from similarity of shape and hence we see the following usage :- We dress ourselves with the same dress as at Mathura; we eat the same rice as at Magadha; this is the same coin as was received at Mathura. So also our object is achieved here by taking the *akāras* to be one from similarity of shape.

The topics II and III are based on व्यक्तिपक्ष. The objections raised in the third topic were finally answered by first taking recourse to ज्ञातिपक्ष in the statement आकृतिग्रहणान्विदम् and then to व्यक्तिपक्ष in the statement रूपसामान्यादा.

Nāgojibhūṭṭa says 'अकारज्यकीनामानन्यमात्रित्य वार्तिककृता वर्णसमाचारस्यस्य विवृतत्वेऽपि धात्वादिस्थूल्यापि विवृतेष्वेदशो नोदितः, भास्यकृता तु प्रयोगस्यानां प्रत्याहारस्थैः ग्रहणात् तत्र ज्ञातिनिवेश आवश्यके जाते विवृतत्वप्रतिलिङ्गेनैव सर्वसिद्धेः स दोषो वाचितः । But on looking at the *vārttika* "सबर्णेऽपि ग्रहणमपरिकाप्यमाकृतिग्रहणात्" under the sūtra "अणुविन्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः" it seems that Vārttikakāra himself has given expression to ज्ञातिपक्ष. Perhaps the statement रूपसामान्यादा may be Mahābhāṣyakāra's own, since, wherever he deals with the interpretation of the word ज्ञाति, he takes it in both the senses of *jati* and shape.

ऋग्लक्

अथ * लक्षणोपदेशः किमर्थः ?

What for is the mention of ल् (in ऋग्लक्) ?

किं विदेषं लक्षणोपदेशबोधने न पुनसन्येषामपि वर्णोनामुपदेशशोधते ! यदि
किञ्चिदन्येषामपि वर्णोनामुपदेशे पदोवनमन्ति लक्षणोपदेशन्तापि तद्विद्युमहीनि ।
को वा निर्गतः ?

Why is the mention of the letter ल् alone specially discussed and not that of other letters ? If there is any use in the mention of other letters, the same may be for that of ल्. What is the speciality ?

अद्यमन्ति विशेषः । अत्य हि लज्जास्य अलीकार्यैव यदीगतिषयः । यथापि
मयोगविषयः सोऽपि कल्पितस्यैव ; कृपेभ्य लन्तमसिद्धं, तस्य असिद्धत्वात् ऋक्षारन्यैव
अस्तकार्याणि भविष्यन्ति । नार्थं लक्षणोपदेशेत् ।

There is this speciality. There is but a little use of this in words. The only place where it is found is in the formations having the element क्लप्. The *lata* in कृप् is non-existent† and hence the *akshaya* will happen to क्. Hence there is no use in the mention of ल्.

अत उत्तरं पठति—

Thus does he read the answer.

लक्षणोपदेशो यद्यच्छाशक्तिजानुकरणपद्मुत्त्वाद्यर्थः

Mention of ल् is for the sake of यद्यच्छाशब्द, भशक्तिजानुकरणशब्द
and पद्मुत्त्वादि.

* लक्षणस्य उपदेशः is another reading.

† लौ गे च ४—२—१८

लक्षणोपदेशः किमते यदच्छाशब्दार्थः अशक्तिजानुकरणार्थः प्लुत्याधर्थव्य ! यदच्छाशब्दार्थस्तावत् — यदच्छया कथित् लक्षणो नाम, तमित्तत्त्वार्थाणि यथा स्युः द्रव्यलक्षणकाय देहि, मध्यलक्षणकाय देहि, उद्भवलक्षणोऽगमत्, प्रत्यहृलक्षणोऽगमत्। चतुष्टीयी शब्दानां प्रवृत्तिः, जातिशब्दाः गुणशब्दाः क्रियशब्दाः यदच्छाशब्दाख्यतुर्थीः

Mention is made of ल्ल for the sake of यदच्छाशब्द, अशक्तिजानुकरणशब्द and प्लुत्याधि. First for the sake of यदच्छाशब्द (*i.e.*) word coined at random to name a person or object without its being formed from any root. One is named लक्षण. When that word is used, the vowel-laws have to operate, *e.g.* द्रव्यलक्षणकाय (द्रव्य+लक्षणकाय) देहि, मध्यलक्षणकाय (मध्य+लक्षणकाय) देहि, उद्भवलक्षणः (उद्भव+लक्षणः) अगमत्, प्रत्यहृलक्षणः (प्रत्यहृ+लक्षणः) अगमत्. The flow of words is fourfold—जातिशब्दाः (words denoting genus), गुणशब्दाः (words denoting quality), क्रियशब्दाः (words denoting action) and यदच्छाशब्दः:

अशक्तिजानुकरणार्थः—अशक्त्या कृयाचित् जात्याप्या लक्षण इति प्रयोगत्वये लक्षण इति प्रयुक्तं, तस्यानुकरणे ब्राह्मणलक्षण इत्याह कुमार्यलक्षण इत्याह इति

For the sake of imitating the word mispronounced on account of incapacity. On account of incapacity लक्षण was mispronounced as लक्षक by a brahman women and it was quoted thus ब्राह्मणलक्षक इत्याह, कुमार्यलक्षक इत्याह.

प्लुत्याधर्थश्च—के पुनः प्लुत्याध्यः ! प्लुतिद्विवेचनस्वरितः—नलैसंशिख, कल्पः, प्रकल्पः; प्लुत्यादिषु कार्येषु छेष्ठेत्वं सिद्धं, तस्य सिद्धत्वादज्ञार्थाणि न सिद्ध्यन्ति । तस्मात् लक्षणोपदेशः किमते

For the sake of प्लुत्याधि. What are प्लुत्याधि ? प्लुतिः, द्विवेचनम् and स्वरितः *e.g.* कलैसंशिख, कल्पः, प्रकल्पः. In the operations प्लुति� etc. the ल् in कल् is *siddha* and hence the vowel-rules will not operate. Hence the letter ल् should be read in the sūtra.

मैतानि सति प्रयोजनानि

These are not the benefits,

न्यायभाशत्कर्षनं संज्ञादिषु

In the case of designations mention of correct ones.

न्यायस्य ऋतकशब्दस्य भावात् कल्पते संज्ञादिषु साधु मन्यन्ते, ऋतक एवासौ न लृतक इति । अपर जाह—न्याय ऋतकशब्दः शास्त्रान्वितोऽस्मि स कल्पवितन्यः साधुः संज्ञादिषु, ऋतक एवासौ न लृतकः ।

Since there is the correct form in ऋतक, it is considered that only the correct forms should be used thus—he is ऋतक and not लृतक. Another thinks that, on hearing the word लृतक, the hearer should consider that it is the corrupt form of the grammatically correct word ऋतक.*

अयं तार्ह यदच्छाशब्दोऽपरिहार्यः—लक्ष्मिः, लक्ष्मित्वेति ।

This यदच्छाशब्द-लक्ष्मिः or लक्ष्मिः cannot be avoided.

एषोऽपि ऋक्षिः ऋक्षित्वश्च ।

This too is ऋक्षिः or ऋक्षित्

कथम् ? How ?

अर्तिप्रवृत्तिश्चैव हि लोके लक्ष्यते । फिडफिडुवौजादिकौ प्रत्ययो । त्रयी शब्दानां प्रवृत्तिः—जातिशब्दाः गुणशब्दाः क्रियाशब्दाः इति । न सन्ति यदच्छाशब्दाः

In the word the root ऋत् is used. फिड and फिडु are formatives that come under the *unādi*. The flow of words is only

* The word ऋतक is derived from the root ऋत्

threefold—ज्ञानशब्दः, गुणशब्दः and क्रियाशब्दः. There are no *yadr̥chāśabdas*.

जन्मथा कृत्वा प्रयोजनमुक्तम् अन्यथा कृत्वा परिहारः, सन्ति वद्धाशब्दा
इति कृत्वा प्रयोजनमुक्ते न सन्तीति परिहारः । समाने चार्थे शास्त्रान्वितोऽशास्त्रा-
न्वितस्य निर्वर्तको भवति, तथा देवदत्तशब्दो देवदिप्णशब्दं निर्वर्तयति न गाव्यादीन्.

The benefits were enumerated on the basis of one view and refutation is made on the basis of another view (*i.e.*) the benefits were enumerated on the strength of the view that there are *yadr̥chāśabdas* and the refutation is on the strength of the view that there are no *yadr̥chāśabdas*. A grammatically correct word can make one avoid another considered to be incorrect only if both have the same प्रवृत्तिनिमित्त*; for instance the word *Dīvadatta* can be the correct form of *Dīvadīpya* and not *gāvyādī*.

नेष्ट दोषः, पक्षान्तरैरपि परिहारा भवन्ति

This is no harm, for refutations are made even on the basis of different views.

Having refuted the first point that the mention of ल् is for the sake of *yadr̥chāśabdas* he takes the second point for review.

अनुकरणं शिष्टाशिष्टाप्रतिष्ठेषु यथा लौकिकशिदिकेषु

Imitation in the case of those that are enjoined or in the case of those neither enjoined nor prohibited—as in instances found in the world and the Vēdas.

* In the previous argument लौकिक, लौकिक etc. were considered to be वद्धाशब्दाः in the पूर्वपक्ष and to be गुणशब्दाः or क्रियाशब्दाः in the मिद्दान्त.

अनुकरणं हि शिष्टस्य वा (तत्) साधु मवति, अशिष्टाप्रतिषिद्धस्य वा, नैव तदोषाय मवति नाभ्युदयाय, यथा लौकिकैवदिकेषु—यथा लौकिकेषु वैदिकेषु च कृतान्तेषु । लोके तावत्—य एवमसौ ददाति य एवमसौ यजते य एवमसावर्धीत इति तस्यानुकूर्वन् दद्याच्च यजते चार्धायीत च सोऽप्यभ्युदयेन युज्यते, वेदेऽपि य एवं विष-चूचः सत्राण्यध्यासत इति तेषामनुकूर्वन् तद्वत्सत्राण्यध्यासीत सोऽप्यभ्युदयेन युज्यते । अशिष्टाप्रतिषिद्धं यथा—य एवमसौ हिकति य एवमसौ हसति च एवमसौ कण्ठूयति इति तस्यानुकूर्वन् हिकेच्च हसेच्च कण्ठूयेच्च, नैव तदोषाय त्याजाभ्युदयाय । गत्तु तत्तु एवमसौ ब्राह्मणं हन्ति एवमसौ सुरं पितृति इति तत्यानुकूर्वन् ब्राह्मणं हन्नात् सुरां वा पितृत्, सोऽपि मन्ये पतितः स्थात् ।

Imitation is either of the enjoined ones, which is good, or of that which is neither enjoined nor prohibited, which brings in neither demerit nor merit. As is found in those of the world and the Vēdas—as is found in the incidents of the world and the Vēdas. First in the world—he too who, seeing that another gives away in charity, performs sacrifices and studies the Vēdas, imitates him and gives away in charity, performs sacrifices and studies the Vēdas gets merit. In the Vēdas also—he who seeing *Vishwamitra* performing *sattras* imitates them and performs *sattras*, he too gets merit. That which is neither enjoined nor prohibited is illustrated thus—he who seeing another hiccupping, laughing or scratching in a peculiar fashion imitates him and hiccoughs, laughs or scratches in the same way gets neither merit nor demerit. Similarly he who seeing another killing a brahmin in a particular way and drinking wine in a peculiar fashion imitates him, kills a brahmin and drinks wine is, in my opinion, an apostate.

विषम उपन्यासः । यश्चैव हन्ति यश्चानुहन्ति उभौ तौ हतः, यश्चापि पितृति यश्चानुपितृति उभौ तौ पितृतः । यत्तु सत्तु एवमसौ ब्राह्मणं हन्ति एवमसौ सुरां वा

किन्तु तस्मात् कुर्वन् लाता तु लिपः मात्यगुणकृतः कदलीन्तम् छिन्द्यात्* पयो च
पिवेत् न स मन्ये पवितः स्यात् ।

The argument is not sound. He who kills thus and he who kills in imitation both kill; he who drinks (wine) and he who drinks (wine) in imitation, both drink (wine). But, on the other hand, he who seeing another killing a brahmin cuts a plantain tree in the same way after taking a bath besmeared himself with sandal and wearing a garland in his neck or he who seeing another drinking wine drinks milk in the same way is not, in my opinion, an apostate.

एवमिहापि य एवमसौ अपशब्दं प्रयुक्ष्ये इति तस्मात् कुर्वन्तपवचं च प्रयुक्तीत
सोऽपशब्दपवचं स्यात् । अयं तु अन्योऽपशब्दपवार्थकः शब्दो मर्दवः उपदेशः
कर्तव्यः । न चापशब्दपवार्थकः शब्दोऽपशब्दो भवति । अवश्यं चतुर्देव विज्ञेयम्,
यो हि मन्यते अपशब्दपवार्थकः शब्दोऽपशब्दो भवतीति, अपशब्द इत्येव तस्यापशब्दः
स्यात्, त चेष्टोऽपशब्दः ।

So also here he who seeing another using ungrammatical words uses the same gets demerit. This word is another which connotes the ungrammatical word, for which *upadeśa* is necessary.

* This refers to *kutali-vivaha* Cf.

अहोद्वाहे अवायांतामुच्यते तु यतोऽप्तः ।

विवाहार्थं सुनिक्षेपेत्सत्सुन्नाता दर्शनदा ॥

आहृतंभिस्तदा दस्ता यथाद्यक्षिणि हिरण्यकम् ।

कात्वा सदाशृग्नेभ्योद्वाहे च तृतीयके ॥

तृतीया त्वा विशेष्याग्रं तस्मादेवं चरेद् दुधः ।

रम्भोद्वाहे तथा कुर्याच्छल्ला तत्रैव मानवः ॥

विशेषं सूतकं भृयादिति बोधयनोऽवकीर्त ॥

(Bṛddhāyana's *Gṛhyasūtra*—5th *prāṇa*—5th Chapter.)

and

Sāmarādā *Gṛhya-pariśista*, *prapōthaka*: 1—24,

The word which connotes an incorrect word is not incorrect. This should be clearly understood that he who thinks that the word which connotes an incorrect word is incorrect should have to say that the word अपशब्दः is ungrammatical, which is not the case.

Mahābhāṣyakāra, taking recourse to the *nyāya* त्रुप्यतु दुर्जनः proceeds thus:—*

अयं खल्वपि भूयोऽनुकरणशब्दोऽपगिर्वायः यदर्थं उपदेशः कर्तव्यः—सा ल-
कारमर्धीति सध्वल्कारमर्धीते इति

Again this अनुकरणशब्दः cannot be avoided for which ल् should be read in the sūtra—साध्वल्कारमर्धीति, सध्वल्कारमर्धीते.

कल्पस्य पुनरेतदनुकरणम् !

Where is this ल् which is imitated found?

कल्पपिस्त्वत्य

In the word कल्पः.

यदि कल्पपिस्त्वस्य, कल्पेण लत्वमसिद्धम्, तस्य असिद्धत्वात् ऋकार एवाचका-
र्याणि भविष्यन्ति

If it is of कल्पः, the *l* of कल्पः is *nsidha* and hence the vowel-laws operate to ल्.

* Granting that the imitation of an incorrect word is also incorrect, he says that when one has to say that one studies ल् well and that one studies ल् in a fine manner, the sūtra त्रो यगचि has to operate and hence ल् should find a place in the sūtra कल्पः.

भवेत्तदर्थेन नार्थः स्यात् । अये त्वन्यः बलूपिसपदार्थकः शब्दः यदर्थं उपदेशः
कर्तव्यः

It may be that it may not be useful on that behalf; but this word is one which connotes the letter in the word कल्प, for which there is need for the *upadeśa*.

न कर्तव्यः । इदमवश्ये कर्तव्यम्* 'प्रकृतिवदनुकरणम् भवति' इति

This need not be done. This should be accepted that the imitator is like the imitated.

कि प्रयोजनम्? Why?

हि: पचन्त्वत्याह, तिष्ठतिः इति निधानो व्यथा स्यात्, अभी इत्याह ईदूदे-
हिवचनं प्रगृह्यम्† इति प्रगृहासंज्ञा व्यथा स्यात्

In the expression हि: पचन्तु इत्याह the verb पचन्तु should have all its syllables unaccented by the operation of the rule तिष्ठतिः. In the expression अभी इत्याह, अभी should get the प्रगृहासंज्ञा by the operation of the rule ईदूदेदिवचनं प्रगृहम्.

वदि प्रकृतिवदनुकरणं भवतीत्युच्चते अपशब्द एवासौ भवति कुमार्यलृतक
इत्याह व्राह्मण्यलृतक इत्याह, अपशब्दो त्वन्य प्रकृतिः । न चापशब्दः प्रकृतिः, न
बापशब्दो उपदिश्यन्ते, न चानुपदिष्टा प्रकृतिरस्ति ।

If the principle प्रकृतिवदनुकरणम् is conceded, the word लृतक in the expression कुमार्यलृतक इत्याह, व्राह्मण्यलृतक इत्याह will become an *apashabda*, since its प्रकृति is *apashabda*. *Apashabda* cannot be taken as *prakrti*; for *upaśabdas* are not read, and that which is not read is not *prakrti*.

* ब्रह्मम् is another reading.

† ईदूदेदिवचनं प्रगृहासंज्ञा भवति is another reading.

From the above it is clear that, according to *Vārtikakāra*, imitator also is *apaśabda* and hence ल् need not be read in the *sūtra* on that score. According to *Mahābhāṣyakāra*, imitator of an *apaśabda* is not an *apaśabda* and the principle प्रकृतिवदनुकरणं भवति cannot operate here and hence ल् should be read in the *sūtra*.

Having refuted the first two, he takes the third point for review.

एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात्पुत्त्वादयः

Pluti and others on account of the principle एकदेशविकृतमनन्यवद्द्रवतीति प्लुत्सादयोऽपि भविष्यन्ति
एकदेशविकृतमनन्यवद्द्रवतीति प्लुत्सादयोऽपि भविष्यन्ति

An object which is maimed a little is nothing but the same and hence *pluti* and others will appear.

यथेकदेशविकृतमनन्यवद्द्रवतीत्युच्चते राज्ञः क च राजकीयम्, अल्लोपेऽन
इति लोपः शामोति ।

If the principle एकदेशविकृतमनन्यवद्द्रवति is conceded, the अ after रज्ञ in राजकीयम् which is the result of राज्ञः क च will have to be dropped on account of the operation of the *sūtra* अल्लोपेऽनः:

एकदेशविकृतमनन्यवत् पष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्य *

The principle एकदेशविकृतमनन्यवद्द्रवति applies to that which is indicated by the genitive case. †

* एकदेशविकृतमनन्यवत् पष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्य इति वस्यामि is another reading.

† In the *sūtra* राज्ञः क च, only the word राज्ञः is indicated by the genitive case, while the elision of अ is enjoined only to अन् on the *sūtra* अल्लोपेऽनः.

LECTURES ON PATAÑJALI'S MAHĀBHĀSYA

यदि पष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्येत्युच्चते वलृशतश्च इति प्लुतो न प्राप्नोति, न इति ऋकारः
पष्ठीनिर्दिष्टः।

If it is said that it holds good only to that which is indicated by the genitive case, *pluta* of ! in वलृशतश्च cannot be got, since here (in the *sūtra* कुपो रो लः) ! is not indicated by the genitive case.

कस्ताहि ? What then ?

तेषः ।

ऋकारोऽप्यत पष्ठीनिर्दिष्टः ।

R also is here indicated by the genitive case.

कथम् ? How ?

अविमत्किंको निर्देशः, कृप उः रः लः कुपो रो लः इति ।

Mention of the stem with the case-suffix elided so that कुपो रो लः is split thus— कृप, उः, रः, लः : *

अथवा पुनास्तु अविद्येषण

Or let the *ayāya* एकदेशविभृतमनन्यवद् भवति apply without any reservation.

ननु चोक्तं राज्ञः क च राजकीयम्, अल्लोपोऽनः इति लोपः प्राप्नोति इति

Has it not been said that the *sūtra* अल्लोपोऽनः will operate in the word राजकीयम् which is got by the operation of the *sūtra* राज्ञः क च ?

* The word कृपे is split as कृप and उः where कृप is the stem without the genitive case-suffix and उः is the genitive case of कृप.

नैष दोषः, वद्यलेतत् शादीनां प्रसारणे नकारान्तग्रहणमनकारान्तप्रति-
पेधार्थम् इति, (*Vṛttikā* under VI-4-133) तत्पृष्ठतमुच्चत्रानुवर्तिष्यते, अल्लो-
पोज्जः (VI.4.134) नकारान्तस्येति

It is no harm. He (*Vṛttikākāra*) is going to say this—that the comprehension of नकारान्त in the *sūtra* वद्युवमधोनामतस्यिते (VI-4-133) dealing with the नकारान्त of वद्य etc. is to prohibit those which are not नकारान्त. The same नकारान्तस्य is repeated in the following *sūtra* ऋग्वेदोऽनन्त्यत्वः:

इह तर्हि कलृ॒संशिख, अनृत हति प्रतिपेषः प्राप्नोति

In the case of कलृ॒संशिखः, then, the prohibition by अनृतः (in the *sūtra* गुरोरकृतोऽनन्त्यत्वः . . . VII-2-86) will operate.

स्वत्प्रतिपेशाच्

By the prohibition of those which have *r*:

स्वत्प्रतिपेशाचैतलिध्यति गुरोरवतः इति वक्ष्यामि

Then the desired object is accomplished by prohibiting those which have *r* and hence I shall read अरवतः instead of अनृतः in that *sūtra*.

वद्यरवत् इत्युच्यते होतु ऋकारः होतृ॒कारः अत्र न प्राप्नोति

If अरवतः is read, the *pluto* in होतृ॒कारः which is the result of the combination होतु and ऋकारः will not take place.

गुरोरवतो हस्तस्य हति वक्ष्यामि

Then shall I read गुरोरवतो हस्तस्य.

स एष सूत्रभेदेन ऋकारोपदेशः पुल्याचर्थः सत् प्रत्याल्प्यायते, सेषा महतो वंशस्तम्भात् लट्टवानुकूप्यते

This लक्षणेयदेश which is for the sake of *pluti* is rejected by taking recourse to the remodelling of the *sūtra* गुरुस्तनुः...; this is like taking hold of a small bird called लटवा from bamboo-brush.

From the last sentence it is clear that the *Mahābhāṣyakāra* favours the view that the *upadīśa* of लक्षण is necessary and that the flow of words is fourfold. Some think that this is a sort of satirical utterance of *Mahābhāṣyakāra* against *Vārtikakām*. From the preface it may be learnt that it is not so, but it is only a fact stated in a humorous fashion.

प्राद्, एवैच्.

There are only three topics that are dealt with here:—(1) whether the purpose is served by reading the *sūtras* as प्रओङ्, and एवैच् or whether they have to be read as प्रत् ओत् ह् and एत् औत् च् (2) whether the word दीर्घि is to be read in *sūtras* which enjoin पत् as *ekādēśa* and (3) whether such sounds as form part of diphthongs, long vowels, r and l, and as are similar to others are to be taken as their limbs or not.

1

इदं विचार्यते इमानि सन्ध्यवगाणि तपशाणि वा उपदिश्येन् एत् ओत् ह्, एत् औत् च् इति, अतपशाणि वा गथान्वासम् इति

This is discussed whether these diphthongs have to be read with ह् following each as प्रत् ओत् ह्, एत् औत् च् or without ह् as they are now.

कथात्र विशेषः ?

What is here the difference ?

सन्ध्यक्षणेषु तपरोपदेशश्चेत् तपरोचारणम्

Need for reading त् at the end if the diphthongs have to be followed by त्.

सन्ध्यक्षणेषु तपरोपदेशश्चेत् तपरोचारणं कर्तव्यम्

If the diphthongs have to be followed by त्, त् has to be read at the end.

प्लुत्यादिष्वज्जिधिः

Rules relating to अच् (will not apply) to *pluta* and others.

प्लुत्यादिष्व अजाशयो विधिने सिद्ध्यति, गोऽत्रात् नौऽत्रात् इत्यत्र अनन्ति च
इति अच उत्तरस्य यरो द्वे भवत इति द्विर्वचनं न प्राप्नोति, इह च प्रत्यहृङ्गतिकायन
उद्दृढौऽपगव इति अचि इति उमुडागामो न प्राप्नोति

In the case of *pluta* and others the rules relating to अच् will not operate. For instance the doubling of त् in गोऽत्रात् and नौऽत्रात् by the application of the rule अनन्ति च cannot take place;* so also the doubling of त् in प्रत्यहृङ्गतिकायन and उद्दृढौऽपगव cannot take place since त् should be followed by an अच्.

प्लुतसंज्ञा च

Even the symbol प्लुत.

प्लुतसंज्ञा च न सिद्ध्यति, ऐऽतिकायन, औऽपगव, उकालोऽवद्वास्वदीर्घप्लुतः
इति प्लुतसंज्ञा न प्राप्नोति

Even the symbol *pluta* cannot operate. For instance in ऐऽतिकायन and औऽपगव, ऐऽ and औऽ cannot get the designation

* The reason is that आ॒र् and औ॒र् are not comprehended by the *pratyahara* अच्.

LECTURES ON PATANJALI'S MAHABHASHYA

प्रत्यक्षम् एव विशेषान् अनुत्तुतः।
प्रत्यक्षालोप्यज्ञास्वर्वीषेष्टुतः।

सत्तु तहि अतपराणि

If so, let them be not followed by त्.

अतपर एव इग्नेस्वदेशे

If they are not followed by त्, there is the need for the *sūtra*
एव इग्नेस्वदेशे,

यद्यतपराणि एव इग्नेस्वदेशे इति वक्तव्यम्

If they are not तपर, the *sūtra* एव इग्नेस्वदेशे has to be read.

किम्प्रयोजनम्? Why?

एतो हस्तादेशशास्त्रेष्वधे पञ्चारोऽर्थं ओकारे वा मा नन् इति

So that 'half e' and 'half o' may not be used when the rules relating to the shortening of long vowels operate.

नन् च वस्ताणि तपराणि तेनाप्येतद्वक्तव्यम्; इमावैचौ समाहारणीं मात्रा-
वर्णेष्य मात्राण्णोवर्णाणोः। तयोर्द्वयादेशशास्त्रेषु कदाचिद्वर्णी त्यात् कदाचिद्विवर्णोवर्णी,
मा कदाचित् अवर्णं भन्ति इति

Oh! this has to be read even when one reads the diphthongs with त् at the end. The two letters which come under the *pratyākṣam* यत्तु are diphthongs having one *mātrā* for *a* and another *mātrā* for *i* or *u*. Hence when rules relating to shortening operate, sometimes *a* may be substituted and sometimes *i* or *u*. They have to avoid the substitution of *a*.

प्रत्याहारायत एतत् एचोओन्तरभूयस्त्वात् इति

This will be set aside by the *vārttika* एचोओन्तरभूयस्त्वात्.*

यदि प्रत्याहारानपशः, इदमपि प्रत्याहारायते सिद्धमेडः सस्थानत्वात् इति

If the view that it may be rejected is held, this too is rejected by the *vārttika* सिद्धमेडः सस्थानत्वात्.†

ननु चैडः सस्थानतसावर्धे एकारोऽर्थं ओकारश्च?

Is it not that 'half e' and 'half o' have their organ of articulation closer to that of ē and ḫ than i and u?

न तौ स्तः, यदि हि तौ स्यातो तावेवायस्मुपदिशेत्

They two do not exist. If they were to exist, he would have read them alone.

ननु च मोः छन्दोगानां सात्यसुग्रिराणायनीया अर्थमेकासर्वमोकारं चाधीयते—
सुजाते ए अश्वसून्ते, अश्वर्यो ओ अद्रिभिः सुतम्, शुक्रं ते ए अन्यत्, यजतं ते ए
अन्यत् इति

Oh Sir, those who belong to सात्यसुग्रिराणा and राजायनीयशास्त्रा among *Sāmaṇḍins* read 'half e' and half o *etc.* नुजाते ए अश्व
सून्ते, अश्वर्यो ओ अद्रिभिः सुतम्, शुक्रं ते ए अन्यत्, यजतं ते ए अन्यत्

* This *vārttika* means this:—when ए or ओ is shortened, only i and u will be substituted since only those two elements predominate in them.

† This means thus:—The desired object is achieved since ē and ḫ have the same organ of articulation as i and u and hence if they are shortened, only i and u will take their place.

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पार्श्वकृतिष्ठ तत्रभवताम् । नेव हि लोके नान्यमिन् वेदैर्ये एकारोऽर्थं
ओकारो वान्ति

It is the work of a class of revered people. Neither in ordinary usage nor in any other *vēda* do we find 'half e' or 'half o'.

From this it is evident that there are three defects if the *sūtras* एकोऽर्थ and एकौञ्च are read with त् at their end and there is no defect if they are read as एकोऽर्थ and एकौञ्च in both the cases whether the *sūtra* एक इष्टस्वादेः is *protyākhyāta* or not.⁴

* There are two points of view regarding the organ of articulation and three points of view regarding the composition of ऐ and ओ.

Kātyāyana Pratiśikṣhya and *Taittirīya Pratiśikṣhya* take उ् to be a *palatal vowel* like ि and ओ a *labial vowel* like ए.

Cf. एवयोगस्तात् (का. पा. I, 66) उवयोपमा ओणे (*ibid* I, 70).

तलो जिह्वास्तन्त्रिणै इ (पा. II 22);

एकां न (ibid. II 23) गोषुप्रसंहार उवयो (ibid. II 24);

ओष्यो न, ओष्यो तपसंहतरौ (ibid. II 13 & 14).

Kātyāyana seems to favour this view.

Cf. the *vartika* एवयोगस्तात्कात्.

But *Pāṇiniya Śikṣā* takes ऐ and ओ as *gutturo-palatal vowel* and *gutturo-labial vowel* respectively.

Cf. ए ओ त्रु, कष्टतात्कात् ओ ओ कष्टोऽहनी स्त्वते.

As regards ऐ and ओ some consider that the a element is one *mātrā* and i or o element is also one *mātrā*.

Cf. नक्त्र भवयेत्ता भवता इवयोवर्णयोः; The grammarian वाचन seems to take this view. (M. 8, under इत्तर्वेत्त इदुयै (VIII—2—106).) Some consider that the a element is half a *mātrā* and i or o element is 1½ *mātrās*. *Taittirīya Pratiśikṣhya*, and *Kātyāyana* favour this view.

Cf. मन्त्रान्तर्यम् एकां तत्प्रसोरादः (कै. पा. II. 26.)

इच्छोऽन्यव्यधिः पूर्वस्त्रयः (*ibid* II. 28),

उक्तस्तात्प्रस्य (*ibid* II. 29);

ऐनोबोत्तत्प्रस्त्रात् ((*Vartika* under एक इष्टस्वादेः (I. 1-48))

एकादेशो दीर्घमहणम्

Mention of the word दीर्घः in एकादेश.

एकादेशो दीर्घमहणं कर्तव्यम्, आदृगुणो दीर्घः, वृद्धिरेचि दीर्घे इति

In the *sūtras* enjoining the substitution of one letter for two, the word दीर्घः should be mentioned as आदृगुणो दीर्घः, वृद्धिरेचि दीर्घः:

कि प्रयोजनम्? Why?

आन्तर्यतस्मिमात्रचतुर्मीत्राणां स्थानिनां त्रिमात्रचतुर्मीत्रा आदेशा मा भूवन्निति, स्वट्वा+इन्द्रः=स्वट्वैन्द्रः, स्वट्वा+उदकम्=स्वट्वोदकम्, स्वट्वा+ईषा=स्वट्वैषा, स्वट्वा+ऊढा=स्वट्वौढा, स्वट्वा+एलका=स्वट्वैलका, स्वट्वा+ओदनः=स्वट्वौदनः, स्वट्वा+ऐतिकायनः=स्वट्वैतिकायनः, स्वट्वा+औपगचः=स्वट्वौपगचः इति

The *sūtra* एकारौक्षरयोः कष्ट्या पूर्वा नान्नोष्ट्वोऽन्तरा (क. गा. I, 73) seems to mean that अ in ऐ and औ is one *mātrā* and इ or उ is one *mātrā*. But the commentator has commented upon it in different ways. Some consider that the *a* element is 1½ *mātrās* and *i* or *u* element is half a *mātrā*.

Cf. अथधर्मात्मा अवर्णस्य अर्थमात्रा इवत्तोक्षरयोः [M. B. under चक्रान्वैच इत्यती (VIII, 2—106.)]

Philologists favour this view since ऐ and औ are represented by the symbols *ai* and *au*. That this should have been the original pronunciation is seen by the fact that they change to *āy* and *āv* in *sandhi*. The modern pronunciation with *a* having one *mātrā* and *i* or *u* also having one *mātrā* may have been due to the influence of Dravidian Languages.

Cf. एकारौक्षरयोः कष्ट्या पूर्वा नान्नोष्ट्वोऽन्तरा (Tolkāppiyam I, 64.)

एकारौक्षरयोः कष्ट्या पूर्वा नान्नोष्ट्वोऽन्तरा (ibid. I, 55.)

Dr. A. A. MacDonell says that ऐ and औ were pronounced as *ai* and *au* even at the time of *Pratisākhya*s (M. V. G. 15-4). But the *Prati-sākhya*s which have been published till now do not seem to express this definitely.

According to the second view favoured by *Kātyāyana* the *sūtra*, इत्यती इवास्तवदेशो is unnecessary.

LECTURES ON PATAÑJALI'S MAHĀRĀSYA

Adēśas of three and four *mātrās* may not, by the principle of similarity, replace *sthānī* with three or four *mātrās* in the following:—खद्वा+इन्द्रः . . . खद्वौपगवः

तत्त्वाहि दीर्घभ्रहणं कर्तव्यम्

Then the word दीर्घ should be read.

न कर्तव्यम् । उपरिषाद् योगविभाग करिष्यते—अकः सवर्णे, एको भवति, ततो दीर्घः, दीर्घश्च स भवति यः स एकः पूर्वपरयोरित्येवं निर्दिष्ट इति

It need not be read; for the *sūtra* अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः which comes later on is split into two *sūtras* अकः सवर्णे and दीर्घः. The former means that when *ak* is followed by a *like* letter, it is replaced by one letter; and the latter means that the letter which has replaced two letters is the long letter.

इहापि तर्हि प्राप्नोति, पशुम विद्म पचन्ति इति

If so, the same will happen in the words पशुम्, विद्म and पचन्ति.

‘नेष दोषः; इह तावस्युभिति—अम्येकः इर्तायता सिद्धम्, सोऽयमेवं सिद्धे सति यत्पूर्वभ्रहणं करोति तत्त्वैतत्त्वयोजनं वथाजातीयकः पूर्वस्तथाजातीयक उम्मोर्यथा स्यात् इति; विद्मभिति—पूर्व इत्येवानुरूपते; अथवा आचार्यप्रवृत्तिज्ञाप्यति नानेन संप्रसारणस्य दीर्घो भवतीति, यद्युं हल उचरस्य संप्रसारणस्य दीर्घत्वं शास्ति; पचन्ति इति—अतो गुणे पर इर्तायता सिद्धम्, सोऽयमेवं सिद्धे सति यद्युपभ्रहणं करोति तत्त्वैतत्त्वयोजनं वथाजातीयकम् योर्यथा स्यात् इति

No, here is no harm. First we shall take पशुम्—*the result* will be achieved by reading the *sūtra* अमि पूर्वः (6—1—107) as अमि एकः. That being so, the *Sūtrikāra* has read the word पूर्वः, which suggests that the *adēśa* of both the letters will be of the same type as the former of the two. We shall then take विद्म—The word पूर्वः is taken here [in the *sūtra* संप्रसारणात्]

(6—1—108)]. Or the mention of the *sūtra* हलः (6—1—2) by the *Sūtrakāra* enjoining the lengthening of the *sumprasāraṇa* after a consonant suggests that the lengthening does not operate upon the *stimpurasāraṇa* resulting from this *sūtra*. Then shall we take पञ्चन्ति. The object is achieved by taking in the *sūtra* अती गुणे (6—1—97) the word पर alone. When such is the case, the word परस्पम् is taken here [from the *sūtra* पञ्चि परस्पम् (6—1—94)] which suggests that the *ādīśa* of both the letters will be of the same type as the latter of the two.

इह तर्हि सद्वद्यो मालश्यं इति दीर्घवचनादकारो न, अनात्मर्थादेकारो
कारो न

Here then in खद्वश्यः (खद्वा+क्षश्यः), मालश्यः (माला+क्षश्यः), a cannot be the *ādīśa* since it has been said that a long letter should come there and ē and ō cannot be the *ādīśa* since they are not similar.

तत्र को दोषः ?

What will be the harm there ?

विगृहीतस्य अवर्णं प्रसञ्ज्येत

There will be the possibility for the absence of *sandhi*.

न बूमो वयं यत्र कियमाणे दोषः तत्र कर्तव्यम् इति

We do not say that we shall take recourse to it where we meet with difficulty.

कि तर्हि ? What then ?

यत्र कियमाणे न दोषः तत्र कर्तव्यम् इति

We should take recourse to it where we meet with no difficulty by it.

LECTURES ON PATAÑJALI'S MAHĀBHĀSYA

क च किमाणे न दोषः ?

Where do we not meet with difficulty by taking recourse to it?

संज्ञाविधौ, बृद्धिरादैच् दीर्घः, अदेह् गुणो दीर्घः इति

In *samjñāvidhi* like बृद्धिरादैच् दीर्घः, अदेह् गुणो दीर्घः:

तत्त्वहि दीर्घमहणं कर्तव्यम्

Then the word दीर्घ should be read.

न कर्तव्यम्

No, it need not.

कलादेव आन्तर्यतः चिनात्तचतुर्मात्राणां स्थानिनां चिनात्तचतुर्मात्रा आदेशा न
भवन्ति ?

How will not the *adēśas* of three or four *mātrās* replace the *sthānin* with three or four *mātrās* by adopting the principle of similarity ?

तपरे गुणबृद्धी

The *guna* and *vrddhi* letters are associated with त्

ननु च तः परः यस्मात्सोऽयं तपरः ?

Is not तपर a *bahuvrīhi* compound ?

नेत्याह, तादपि परस्तपर इति

No, says he. It is also a *talpurusa* compound.

यदि तादपि परस्तपरः, ऋदोरप् इतीहैव स्यात् यवः, स्तवः ; लवः, पवः
इत्यत्र न स्यात्

If it is taken as a *latpuruṣa* compound, the *sūtra* ऋद्वेत्प् will operate only with respect to वचः and स्तवः and not with respect to लबः and पवः:

नैष तकारः

This is not *takāra*.

कस्तहिं ?

What then ?

दकारः *Dakāra*.

किं दकारे प्रयोजनम् ?

What is the use of reading दकार ?

अथ किं तकारे ? यदसन्देहार्थस्तकारः दकारोऽपि, अथ सुत्सुसार्थस्तकारः दकारोऽपि इति

What is the use of reading *takāra* ? If it is to avoid doubt, *dakāra* also serves the same purpose; if it is for euphony, *dakāra* also is for the same.

III

इदं विचार्यते—य एतेषु वर्णेषु वर्णकल्पेशा वर्णीत्तरसमानाकृतय एतेषामवयव-
अहणेन ग्रहणं स्थान्ना न वा—इति

This is discussed whether in these letters (आ, ई, ऊ, ऊ, ल, ए, ओ and औ) their parts which resemble other letters operate like the latter (in *sandhi* etc.) or not.

कृतः पुनरिद्यं विचारणा !

Wherfrom does this discussion arise ?

इह हि सनूदाया अप्तुषादिश्वन्ते अवयवा अपि । अन्वन्तरश्च समुदयेऽवयवः ।
तथाद्युक्तः प्रचलन् सहावयैः प्रचलति । तत्र समुदायस्थावयवस्य अवयवमहणेन
अहण त्याद्वा न वेति जायते विचारणा ।

Here (in the *Māhēśvaram sūtras*) are read both wholes (like ए, ओ,
ऋ, etc.) and parts (like अ, इ, ई, etc.). Part is evidently
within the whole. *e.g.* A tree, when it moves, moves with its
parts. Now the need for the discussion whether the parts of
the whole operate or not like those which they resemble, arises.

कथात्र विशेषः ।

What is the difference here?

वर्णकनेदा वर्णग्रहणेन चेत् सन्व्यक्षरे समानाकरणाभ्यो विधिः प्राप्नोति, स प्रति-
पेत्य—अयो+इन्द्र, वायो+उदकम्, अकः सर्वो दीर्घं इति दीर्घत्वं प्राप्नोति

If the parts of letters operate like those which they resemble,
the rules relating to *a, ā, i, ī, u, ū*, will operate with diphthongs.
For example in the *sandhi* of अयो+इन्द्र and वायो+उदकम्, the
sūtra अकः सर्वो दीर्घः will operate.

दीर्घं हस्तविधिप्रतिपेत्यः ।

Prohibition of rules relating to short letters with long ones.

दीर्घं हस्तवाभ्यो विधिः प्राप्नोति, स प्रतिपेत्य—आलृय, प्रलृय, हस्तस्य पिति
कृति तु कु भवतीति तु कु प्राप्नोति

Rules relating to short letters will have chance to operate with
reference to the corresponding long ones and it is to be prohibited.
For example in the words आलृय and प्रलृय the *sūtra*
हस्तस्य पिति कृति तु कु will chance to operate and तु कु will appear
there.

तेष दोषः, आचार्यभृत्तिर्जप्तिं न दीर्घे इत्याश्रयो विधिमंवतीति, यदयं दीर्घा-
च्छ तुकं शास्ति

It is no harm, for the *acārya's* procedure suggests that the long letters are not to be affected by the rules relating to short ones since he reads the *sūtra* दीर्घात् which enjoins तुक् after a long letter.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम्, अस्ति अन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयोजनम्

This is not a *jñāpaka*, for there is another use of this *sūtra*.

किम्? What?

पदान्ताद्वा इति विभाषां वक्ष्यामि इति

To introduce the reader to his *sūtra* पदान्ताद्वा where he enjoins the optional use of तुक्.

यत्हि योगविभागं करोति, इतरथा हि दीर्घात्पदान्ताद्वा इत्येव वृद्धात्

Since he has read them as two *sūtras*, (we have to take the former to be a *jñāpaka*); for, otherwise he would have read दीर्घात्पदान्ताद्वा as one *sūtra*.

हह तहि स्तवाभिः, मालाभिः, अतो भिस एस इत्यभावः प्राप्नोति

If so, in the words स्तवाभिः and मालाभिः, the case-suffix एस will come on the operation of the *sūtra* अतो भिस एस.

तपरकरणसामर्थ्यात् भविष्यति

It does not come on account of तपरकरण.

तहि याता वाता, अतो लोप आर्धधातुके इत्यकारलोपः प्राप्नोति

If so, in the words याता and वाता, the elision of अकार will take place on the operation of the *sūtra* अतो लोप आर्धधातुके.

ननु चात्रापि तपरकरणसामर्थ्यादेव न भविष्यति

Oh ! even here it does not come on account of तपरकरण itself.

अमिति कृन्दत्तपरकरणे प्रयोजनम्

No, for there is another benefit accruing from तपरकरण..

किम् ? What ?

मर्वस्य लोपो मा भूदिति

so that the elision of the whole may not take place.

अथ किञ्चमागेऽपि तप्ते परस्य लोपे कृते पूर्वस्य कलाव भवति :

Even if there is तपरकरण, why is not the preceding letter dropped after the elision of the succeeding letter ?

परलोपस्य स्वानिवद्धावादसिद्धत्वाच

On account of the स्वानिवद्धाव of the elision of the succeeding element and its being असिद्ध.

एवं तर्हि आचार्यप्रतिरूपियति न आकारस्यस्याकारस्य लोपो भवतीति, यद्यपि आतोऽनुपत्तर्गे कः इति ककारमनुबन्धं करोति

If so, acārya's procedure suggests that *a* in *d* is not elided since he reads the *anubandha* क् in the *sūtra* आतोऽनुपत्तर्गे कः.

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम् !

In what manner should it be understood so that it may be taken as a *jñāpaka* ?

किञ्चन्नर्गे एतत्प्रयोजनम् किंतीत्याकारलोपो यथा स्वात् इति । यथा कारस्यस्याकारस्य लोपः स्वात् किञ्चन्नर्गमनवर्तकं स्वात्—परस्य अकारस्य लोपे कृते द्वयोकारयोः परस्ये हि सिद्धं रूपं स्वाद् गोदः कम्बलदः इति— । पद्धतिं त्वाचार्यो नाकारस्यस्याकारस्य लोपः स्वादिति ; अतः ककारमनुबन्धं करोति

This is the benefit of कित्करण that the elision of *a* may take place on account of the mention of किति. If the *a* in *ā* can be elided, कित्करण will be of no use—when the succeeding *a* is elided, and when there is पररूप with respect to the two *a*'s the forms गोदः and कम्बलदः are formed.—The ācārya sees that *a* in *ā* is not elided and hence uses the *anubandha* क्.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम् । उत्तरार्थमेतत् त्वात् तुन्दशोकयोः परिमृजापनुदोः इति

This is not a *jñāpaka*. This is for the sake of the following *sūtra* तुन्दशोकयोः परिमृजापनुदोः .

यत्तहि गापोष्टक् इत्यनन्वार्थं ककारमनुवन्धं करोति

If so, he reads the अकार with the *anubandha* क् in the *sūtra* गापोष्टक् which serves no other purpose.

एकवर्णवच

As one letter too,

एकवर्णवच दीर्घे भवतीति वक्तव्यम्

It should also be said that long letter is taken as one letter.

कि प्रयोजनम्? Why?

वाचा तरतीति व्यञ्जकणष्ठन्मा भूदिति; इह च वाचो निमित्तं तस्य निमित्तं संयोगोत्पातौ इत्यनुवर्तयाने गो अचः . . . इति व्यञ्जणो यन्मा भूदिति

So that the suffix *than* which takes place after a dissyllable by the *sūtra* नौडाचष्ठन् may not appear in the word वाचिक which means वाचा तरति and so that यत् which comes after a dissyllable by the *sūtra* गो अचः . . . in the sense of निमित्त of संयोग or उत्पात which is taken there from the *sūtra* तस्य निमित्तं संयोगोत्पातौ may not come after the word वाच् when the meaning वाचो निमित्तम् has to be conveyed.

अत्रापि गोनौप्रहणं ज्ञापकं दीर्घाद् द्वयज्ज्लवणो विधिर्न भवति इति

Even here the mention of the two words गो and नौ suggests that the *sūtras* dealing with dissyllables do not operate in a long vowel.

अयं तु सर्वेषामेव परिहारः —

This will serve as an answer to meet all the points raised against.

नाज्यपञ्चकस्यावयवस्य तद्विधियथा द्रव्येषु

Their rules do not operate in the case of those which resemble them and form part of other letters but are not taken cognisance of as separate from the whole, as in *dravyas*.

नाज्यपञ्चकस्यावयवस्य अवयवाश्रयो विधिर्भवति यथा द्रव्येषु । तयथा—द्रव्येषु सप्तदशं सामिधेन्यो भवन्तीति न सप्तदशारक्षिमात्रं काष्ठमग्नादन्याधीयते

The rules of those letters do not operate in the case of those which resemble them and form part of other letters, but are not taken cognisance of as such, as in *dravyas*. For instance in the case of *dravyas*, the purpose of the rule सप्तदशं सामिधेन्यो भवन्ति is not satisfied when a wood seventeen cubits long is thrown on fire.

विषम उपन्यासः, प्रत्यूचं चैव हि तत्कर्मं चोदयते, असम्भवशाङ्गौ चेदां च

The argument is not sound. The *karma* is enjoined with reference to every *rk* and it is impossible either for the fire or for the altar to hold it.

यथा तीहं सप्तदशं प्रादेशमात्रीरात्वत्थीः समिधोऽन्यादर्थीत इति न सप्तदशप्रादेशमात्रं काष्ठमग्नावन्याधीयते

If so, the purpose of the rule सप्तदशं प्रादेशमात्रीरात्वत्थीः समिधोऽन्यादर्थीत is not satisfied when a wood seventeen spans long is thrown into the fire.

अत्रापि शतिप्रणवे चैतकर्म नोद्यते, तुल्यशासंभवोऽमी वेदा च

Even here the *karma* is enjoined with reference to the recital of *prayaśa* each time and it is impossible for the fire or the altar to hold it.

यथा तहि तैलं न विक्रेतव्ये, मासं न विक्रेतव्यम् इति व्यपवृक्तं च न विक्रीयते अव्यपवृक्तं गावः सर्षपाश विक्रीयन्ते; तथा लोमनलं सूद्धा शौचं कर्तव्यमिति व्यपवृक्तं सूद्धा नियोगतः कर्तव्यम्, अव्यपवृत्ते कामनाः:

If so, as, when it is said that oil should not be sold and that meat should not be sold, they are not sold when they are separated from the whole, but the cows and mustard wherein they are not separated are sold, and as, when it is said that one should purify himself on touching hair and nail, it is *obligatory* to do it on touching them when they are separated from the body and it does not matter whether one touches them or not when they are not separated from the body, (so is here also).

यत्र तहि व्यपवर्गोऽस्ति!

What will be the case where there is व्यपवर्गः?

क च व्यपवर्गोऽस्ति!

Where is व्यपवर्गः?

सन्ध्याक्षरेषु

In diphthongs.

सन्ध्याक्षरेषु विवृतत्वात्

(Not) in diphthongs, on account of openness.

यद्व अवर्णं विवृततरं तदन्यस्मात् अवर्णात्, ये अपि इवर्णोवर्णो विवृततरे ते अन्याभ्यामिवर्णोवर्णोन्याम्

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No, there is no अपवर्ग in diphthongs on account of विवृतत्व. The *a* here is more open than *a* elsewhere and the *i* and *u* here are more open than *i* and *u* elsewhere.

अथवा पुनर्न गृह्णन्ते

Or वर्णकदेशes are not considered to be those which they resemble.

अग्रहणं चेत् नुहिविलादेशविनामेषु ऋकाग्रहणम्

If it is not taken so, the reading of the letter *r* after the *sūtras* enjoining नुद, लादेश and जन्त्व.

अभ्रहणं चेत् नुहिविलादेशविनामेषु ऋकारस्य ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । तस्मान्तु ह
द्विहलः ऋकारे चेति वक्तव्यम्, इतापि यथा स्यात् आनुवत्तुः आनुवुः इति । यस्य
पुनर्गृह्णन्ते द्विहल इत्येव तस्य सिद्धम्

If वर्णकदेशes are not considered to be those which they resemble, the letter *r* should be read after the *sūtras* enjoining नुद, लादेश and जन्त्व. After the *sūtra* तस्मान्तु ह द्विहलः, ऋकारे च should be read, so that the forms आनुवत्तुः and आनुवुः may be got. By him who holds the वर्णकदेशाग्रहणपक्ष, it is achieved by the word द्विहलः itself.

यस्यापि न गृह्णन्ते, तस्याप्येष न दोषः । द्विहलग्रहणं न करिष्यते, तस्मान्तु ह
भवतीत्येव

It is no harm even to him who holds the अग्रहणपक्ष. The word द्विहलः is not read and the *sūtra* becomes तस्मान्तु ह.

यदि न कियते आट्टुः आटुः इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति

If it is not read, नुद will appear in आट्टुः and आटुः:

अश्वोतिग्रहणं तिथमार्थं भविष्यति, अश्वोत्तरेव अवणोपधस्य नान्यस्य अवणो-
पधस्येति

The mention of अस्तेति (in the *sūtra* अस्तेतेष्व 7-4-72) is to restrict its application that त्रुट occurs only to अश् which has अ as its penultimate and not to similar roots which have अ as their penultimate.

लादेशं च ऋकारभृणं कर्तव्यम्—कृपो रो लः, ऋकारस्य च इति वक्तव्यम्—
इहापि यथा स्यात् कल्पः कल्पवान् इति । यस्य पुनर्गृह्णन्ते र इत्येव तस्य सिद्धम्

R should be read after *sūtras* dealing with लादेश thus—कृपो रो लः, ऋकारस्य च so that लादेश may take place here also—in कल्पः and कल्पवान्. By him who holds the भ्रणपञ्च, it is achieved by the word रः itself.

यस्यापि न गृह्णन्ते तस्याप्येष न दोषः । ऋकारोऽप्यत्र निर्दिश्यते

It is no harm even to him who holds अभ्रणपञ्च. The word ऋकार also is read here.

कथम्? How?

अविमत्तिको निर्देशः, कृप उः रः लः कृपो रो ल इति

Mention without case-suffix thus—कृप उः रः लः

अश्वा उभयतः स्फोटमालं निर्दिश्यते—रश्वतेलंश्वतिर्मवति इति

Or the genus is denoted in both—r becomes l *

विनामे ऋकारभृणं कर्तव्यम्—रथाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे ऋकाराच इति
वक्तव्यम्—इहापि यथा स्यात् मातृणां पितृणाम् इति । यस्य पुनर्गृह्णन्ते रथाभ्याम् इत्येव
तस्य सिद्धम्

* र in कृप of कृप बecomes ल् found in ल् so that कल्प is formed from कृप and र becomes ल् so that कल्पित is formed from कृप.

LECTURES ON PATAÑJALI'S MAHĀBHĀSYA

क शould be read after the *sūtra* dealing with णत्व thus—राम्यां
नो णः समानपदे, क्रकाराच्च so that णत्व may occur even here—in
मातृणाम्, पितृणाम्. To him who holds the अहणपश्च, the object is
achieved by the word राम्याम्.

* न सिद्ध्यति, वरदेकात्परं भक्तेः, तेन व्यवहितत्वात् प्राप्नोति

No, it is not achieved since न (in मातृणां and पितृणाम्) is
separated from ए the former part of क्र by its latter part.

मा भृदेवम्, अहृव्यवाय इत्येव सिद्धम्

Let it not be so; it is achieved by the *sūtra* अद्वृप्वाहनुम्
व्यवायेऽपि.

न सिद्ध्यति No, it is not.

वर्णकदेशाः के वर्णश्चहणेन गृह्णन्ते ?

Which वर्णकदेश are taken like वर्णs ?

ये व्यपदृक्ता अपि वर्णा भवन्ति

Those which exist as वर्णs even outside them.

यस्यापि वर्णकदेश भक्तेः, न तत्कचिदपि व्यपदृक्तं दृश्यते

* That element which is after ए in क्र is not found anywhere as a
separate letter.

एवं तद्देहं योगविभागः क्रमिष्यते—राम्यां नो णः समानपदे ततो व्यवाये
व्यवाये च राम्या नो णो भवतीति, ततः अद्वृप्वाहनुमिभः इति

If so the *sūtra* is split thus—राम्यां नो णः समानपदे and then
व्यवाये (even when separated by others ए becomes ए after ए and
ए in a single word)—and then अद्वृप्वाहनुमिभः.

इदमिदानीं किमर्थम् !

What is this for now ?

नियमार्थम् । पैतैरेवाश्वरसमाज्ञायिंकर्ववाये नान्यरिति

For the sake of *niyama*, so that (it may take place) only when they are separated by only these letters of वर्णसमाज्ञाय and none else.

यस्यापि न गृह्णन्ते तस्याप्येष न दोषः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिज्ञापयति भवति ऋका-
राज्ञो णत्वमिति, यद्यं क्षुभादिषु नृनमनशब्दं पठति

It is no harm even to him who holds the अग्रहणपक्ष.—The use of *ācārya* suggests that *n* becomes *u* after ऋ since he reads the word नृनमन in क्षुभादिगण.

नैतदस्मित ज्ञापकम्, वृद्धयर्थमेतत्स्यात् नार्नमनिः—

No, this is not a *jñāpaka*. It is there for the sake of *vyddhi* in नार्नमनि :

यत्तर्हि तृमोतिशब्दं पठति

If so, he reads नृमोनि *.

यच्चापि नृनमनशब्दं पठति

Or as he reads नृनमन.

ननु चोक्ते वृद्धयर्थमेतत्स्यात् :

Has it not been said that it is for the sake of *vyddhi* ?

वहिरङ्गा वृद्धिः, अन्तरङ्गं णत्वम्, असिद्धं वहिरङ्गम् अन्तरङ्गे

* नृमोनि is found only in पाठान्तर.

LECTURES ON PATANJALI'S MAHĀBHĀSYA

Vṛddhi is वहिरङ्ग and *yatra* is अन्तरङ्ग and वहिरङ्ग is *asiddha* when अन्तरङ्गकार्य is to be done.

अथवा उपरिषदादोगविभागः करिष्यते—ऋतः—तो जो भवति, ततः—छन्दस्यवश्रहात्—ऋत इत्येव

Or the *sūtra* छन्दस्यूद्देवश्रहात् which comes later on is split into ऋतः and छन्दस्यवश्रहात्; the former is taken to mean ऋतो जो जो भवति and the word ऋतः is taken to follow in the succeeding *sūtra* also.

प्लुतावैच इदुतौ

The *sūtra* प्लुतावैच इदुतौ (is necessary).

एतच्च वक्तव्यम् । यस्य पुनर्गृह्णन्ते गुरोष्टः इत्येव प्लुत्या तस्य सिद्धम्

The *sūtra* प्लुतावैच इदुतौ has also to be read. For him who holds अहणपक्ष, its purpose is served by गुरोष्टः..

यस्यापि न गृह्णन्ते तस्याप्येष न दोषः, क्रियते न्यास एव *

It is no harm even to him who holds अहणपक्ष since the *sūtra* itself is read (by the *Sūtrakāra*).

तुल्यरूपे संयोगे द्विव्यञ्जनविधिः

Rules relating to two consonants in the case of one consonant followed by the same.

तुल्यरूपे संयोगे द्विव्यञ्जनाश्रयो विधिर्न सिद्ध्यति—कुक्कुटः, पिण्डी, पित्तम् इति । यस्य पुनर्गृह्णन्ते तस्य द्वौ कक्षारौ, द्वौ पक्कारौ, द्वौ तक्कारौ

Rules relating to two consonants in the case of one consonant followed by the same will not take place, as in कुक्कुटः,

* क्रियते एतन्नाम्य एव is another reading.

पित्तली and पित्तम्. For him who holds the प्रहणपक्ष there are two ककारः, two पकारः and two तकारः.

यत्यापि न गृह्णन्ते तस्यापि द्वौ ककारौ द्वौ पकारौ द्वौ तकारौ

Even for him who holds अप्रहणपक्ष, there are two ककारः, two पकारः and two तकारः.

कथम्? How?

मालाकालोऽन्न गम्भते, न च मात्रिकं व्यञ्जनमस्ति । अनुपदिष्टं सत्कथं शक्यं विजातुम्, असच्च कथं शक्यं प्रतिपत्तुम्?

The time taken by *mātrās* is here taken into account. There is no consonant which has one *mātrā*. How is it possible for one to take cognisance of a thing which has not been read and to know a thing which does not exist?

यद्यपि तावद्वैतच्छक्यते वकुं यैवतज्ञास्ति अण् सवर्णान् गृह्णाति इति, इह तु कथं सर्वेयन्ता, सर्ववन्तसरः, यल्लोकम्, तल्लोकम्, इति यैवतत् अस्त्यग् सवर्णान् गृह्णाति इति?

Even though it is possible to say so where the principle अण् सवर्णान् गृह्णाति does not operate, how can it be here in सर्वेयन्ता, सर्ववन्तसरः, यल्लोकम्, तल्लोकम् where the same principle operates?

अत्रापि नालाकालो गृह्णते, न च मात्रिकं व्यञ्जनमस्ति । अनुपदिष्टं सत्कथं शक्यं विजातुम्, असच्च कथं शक्यं प्रतिपत्तुम्?

Even here the time taken by *mātrās* is taken into account. There is no consonant which has one *mātrā*. How is it possible for one to take cognisance of a thing which has not been read and to know a thing which does not exist?

हयवरद्

Six topics are dealt with here. They are (1) the need for reading ह in two *sūtras* (2) which is better—हयवरद् or हरयवद् ? (3) since अयोगवाहस are not read in प्रत्याहारसूचन, where are they to be taken to have been read ? (4) do letters have meaning or not ? (5) why are not *anubandhas* in प्रत्याहार taken as अन् ? and (6) why should semi-vowels be mentioned in the *sūtra* अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः.

I

सर्वे वर्णाः सकृदुपदिष्टाः, अयं हकारो द्विलोपदित्यते पूर्वश्चेव परम्य । यदि
पुनः पूर्वं एवोपदित्यते परं एव वा, कश्चात्र विशेषः ?

All letters are read once; this हकार is read twice before * and after. † If it is read either before or after, what would have been the difference ?

हकारस्य परोपदेशे अद्यग्रहणेषु हग्नहणम्

Hakāra being read after, mention of *hakāra* in *sūtras* mentioning अट.

हकारस्य परोपदेशे अद्यग्रहणेषु हग्नहणं कर्तव्यम्, आतोऽटि नित्यम्, शञ्चोऽटि दीर्घादटि समानपादे हकारे च इति वक्तव्यम्, इहापि यथा स्वात् महाँ हि सः
If *hakāra* is read after, mention has to be made of *hakāra* wherever the *pratyāhāra* अट is mentioned. For instance in the *sūtras* आतोऽटि नित्यम्, शञ्चोऽटि, दीर्घादटि समानपादे, हकारे च must be read so that the rule may operate here also—in महाँ हि सः

* In the *sūtra* हयवरद्† In the *sūtra* हल्

उत्त्वे च

Also in *sūtras* dealing with उत्त्व.

उत्त्वे च हकारग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, अतो रोरप्लुतादप्लुते, हशि च, हकारे च
इति वक्तव्यम्, इहापि यथा सात् पुरुषो हसति, त्रासणो हसति

Hakāra has to be read also in *sūtras* dealing with उत्त्व. For instance in the *sūtra* हशि च after अतो रोरप्लुतादप्लुते, हकारे च must be read so that the rule may operate here also—in पुरुषो हसति, त्रासणो हसति.

अस्तु तर्हि पूर्वोपदेशः

If so, let it be read before.

पूर्वोपदेशे किञ्चकस्मैहविधयो ज्ञल्यहणानि च

It being read before, injunction of किञ्च, कस्मि and इदं and ज्ञल्यहण.

यदि पूर्वोपदेशः, किञ्चं विधेयम्—क्षिहित्वा बेहित्वा सिक्षिहिषति सिक्षेहिषति—
रलो व्युपधाद्वलादेः इति किञ्चं न प्राप्नोति । कृसविधिः, कस्मि विधेयः—अभु-
क्षत् अलिङ्गत् शल इगुपधादनिटः कस्मः इति कस्मो न प्राप्नोति । इदूविधिः,
इदं न विधेयः—रुदिहि स्वपिहि—वलादिलक्षण इण् न प्राप्नोति । ज्ञल्यहणानि च ।
किम् । अहकाराणि स्युः । तत्र को दोषः? ज्ञलो ज्ञालि इति इह न स्यात्,
अदावधाम्, अदावधम्

If it is read before, किञ्च has to be enjoined in cases like क्षिहित्वा बेहित्वा, सिक्षिहिषति, सिक्षेहिषति since they cannot be operated upon by the *sūtra* रलो व्युपधाद्वलादेः, (for ह् cannot be included under the *pratyāhāra* रल.) कस्मि has to be enjoined in cases like अभुक्षत्, अलिङ्गत् since they cannot be operated upon by शल इगुपधादनिटः कस्मः (for ह् cannot be included under the *pratyāhāra* शल) इदं has to be enjoined in cases like रुदिहि, स्वपिहि since they cannot be operated upon by रुदादिभ्यः सार्वधातुके (for ह् cannot be

included under the *pratyāhāra* अन्तः. *Sūtras* dealing with अन्तः also. Why? They will not include ह. What is the harm there? The *sūtra* अलो इलि cannot operate in अदाग्वाम्, अदाग्धम्.

तस्मात् पूर्वेभ्य उपदेष्ट्यः परब्र। यदि च किञ्चिद् अन्यत्राप्युपदेशे प्रयोगन्
मस्ति तत्राप्युपदेशः कर्तव्यः

Therefore it has to be read before and after. If there be any use of its being read elsewhere, there too should it be read.

II

इदं विचार्यते अयं रेफो यकारवक्ताराम्या पूर्वे एवोपदिश्येत हरयचट् इति,
पर एव वा यथान्यासम् इति

This is to be discussed whether रेफ is to be read before य and व or हरयचट् or after them as it is in the *sūtra*.

कश्चात् विशेषः !

What is the difference here?

रेफस्य परोपदेशे अनुनासिकाद्विर्वचनपरस्वर्णप्रतिपेचः

रेफ being read after, prohibition of अनुनासिक, द्विर्वचन and परस्वर्ण.

रेफस्य परोपदेशे अनुनासिकाद्विर्वचनपरस्वर्णानां प्रतिपेचो वक्तव्यः । अनुनासि-
कस्य—प्रातर्नयति स्वर्णयति, यरोऽनुनासिकेऽनुनासिको वा इत्यनुनासिकः प्राप्नोति ।
द्विर्वचनस्य—मद्रहदः, भद्रहदः, यर इति द्विर्वचनं प्राप्नोति । परस्वर्णस्य—कुण्डं
स्थेन, वनं ग्येन, अनुस्वारस्य यथि . . . इति परस्वर्णः प्राप्नोति

If रेफ is read after य and व (as it is in the *sūtra*), nasalisation, doubling and likening to the following letter should be prohibited. As regards nasalisation, in cases like स्वर्णयति, प्रातर्नयति the *sūtra* यरोऽनुनासिकेऽनुनासिको वा will operate. As regards doubling, in cases like मद्रहदः भद्रहदः doubling

will take place by the *sūtra* अनन्ति च (since रेष् is included under the *pratyāhāra* रर्.) As regards the likening to the following letter, in cases like कुण्डं रथेन, वनं रथेन, the *sūtra* अनुस्वारस्य यथि परस्परणः will operate so that परस्परणः will take place.

अस्तु तदै पूर्वोपदेशः

If so, let it be read before them.

पूर्वोपदेशो किञ्चप्रतिषेधो व्यलोपवचनं च

It being read before, prohibition of किञ्च and mention of व्यलोप.

यदि पूर्वोपदेशः किञ्चं प्रतिषेधं—देवित्वा, दिदेविषति—रलो व्युपधात् . . .
इति किञ्चं प्राप्नोति

If it is read before, किञ्च has to be prohibited; otherwise किञ्च and सन् will become optionally किञ्च in देवित्वा and दिदेविषति by the *sūtra* रलो व्युपधात् . . . (since च will be included in the *pratyāhāra* रर्).

नैष दोषः, नैवं विज्ञायते रलो व्युपधात् इति

There will be no room for this flaw since it is not understood thus—रलः व्युपधात् . . .

कि तदैः ! How then ?

रलः अव्युपधात् इति

Thus—रलः अव्युपधात्.

किमिदं अव्युपधात् इति !

What does अव्युपधात् mean here ?

अवकारान्तात् ज्युपधात् अवन्युपधात् इति

After ज्युपध which does not end in च.

न्यलोपवचनं च । न्योऽलोपो वक्तव्यः । गौधेरः, पचेरन्, यजेरन्, जीवे
रदानुः—जीरदानुः; वलीति लोपो न प्राप्नोति इति

Mention of the elision of य and व. The elision of य and व should be mentioned in the following cases गौधेरः, पचेरन्, यजेरन्, जीवेरदानुः (the suffix रदानुः after जीवे by जीवेरदानुः) since र् is not included in the *pratyāhāra* वल्.

नैप दोषः रेफोऽप्यन् निर्दिश्यते, लोपो व्योर्वलीति रेफे च वलि च इति

There is no room for this flaw. रेफ also is mentioned here thus लोपो व्योर्वलि, रेफे च वलि च. *

अथवा मुनस्तु परोपदेशः

Or let there be परोपदेश itself.

ननु चोक्ते रेफस्य परोपदेशे अनुनासिकद्विर्वचनपरस्वर्णप्रतिषेध इति !

Has it not been said that, if there is परोपदेश prohibition of nasaliation, doubling and likening to the following letter should be made ?

अनुनासिकपरस्वर्णयोस्तावत् प्रतिषेधो न वक्तव्यः, रेफोभ्यां स्वर्णा न सन्ति ।
द्विर्वचनेऽपि, नेमौ रहौ कायिणौ द्विर्वचनस्य । किं तर्हि ! निमित्तभिमौ रहौ द्विर्वचनस्य ; तथा—ब्राह्मणा भोज्यन्तां माठरकौण्डिन्यौ परिवेविषाम् इति, नेदानी तौ भुजाते

First there is no need for the prohibition of अनुनासिक and परस्वर्ण since रेफ and fricatives have no like letters. Even

* The defect in this case is that र् has to be read which is not in the *sutra*.

in द्विर्वचन, रेफ and दक्षार are not the recipients of द्विर्वचन. What then? They are निमित्तs of द्विर्वचन. It is analogous to this—when it is said that brahmins may be fed and माडर and कौण्डल्य may serve, they two do not dine then.

III

इदं विचार्यते—इमे अयोगवाहा * न कचिदुपदिश्यन्ते श्रूयन्ते च, तेषां कार्यीर्थं उपदेश कर्तव्यः

This is discussed that these अयोगवाहas are read nowhere but heard (in words) and they have to be read to be operated upon by the *sūtras*.

के पुनरयोगवाहाः?

What are अयोगवाहas?

विसर्जनीयजिह्वामूलीयोपऽपानीयानुस्वारस्यमा:

They are *visarga*, *jihvāmūlīya*, *upadhmānīya*, *anusvāra* and *yama*.

कथं पुनरयोगवाहाः?

How are they called अयोगवाहाः?

यद्युक्ता वहन्ति, अनुपदिष्टाश्च श्रूयन्ते

Since they being heard without being read are operated upon without being included in any *pratyāhāra*.

* It is interesting to note that Kannada grammarians began to use the term *yogavāha* in place of *ayogavāha*; this is perhaps due to false etymology that those letters are found only in the company of others or metanalysis.

Cf. *Jihvāmūlīyopadhmānīyabindusisargangalum vṛttijanassapijīyalli*: *yogavāhaṅgalendū pēvar* (*Sabdānamidarpaṇa* 1,22 commentary)

क पुनरेगामुपदेशः कर्तव्यः ?

Where are these to be read ?

अयोगवाहानाभूत्सु णत्वम्

Reading of अयोगवाहः among अद् for the sake of णत्वम्.

अयोगवाहानाभूत्सु उपदेशः कर्तव्यः । किं प्रयोजनम् ? णत्वम्—उरःकेण
उरःकेण, उरःपेण उरःपेण, अहृत्यवाये इति णत्वं सिद्धं भवति

Reading of अयोगवाहः among the letters included in the *pratyāhāra*
अद् is necessary. What is the use ? णत्वम्, as in उरःकेण, उरःकेण,
उरःपेण and उरःपेण । णत्वम् can be accomplished since there is
अहृत्यवाय.

शर्षु बग्मावपत्वे

Their reading among शर् for the sake of जशत्व and वत्व.

शर्षुपदेशः कर्तव्यः । किं प्रयोजनम् ? जश्चामावपत्वे । अयमुठिजरूपधार्मीयोपधः
पठ्यते ; तस्य जश्चले कृते उच्चिता उच्चितुम् इत्येतद्भूपं यथा स्मात्

They have to be read among शर्. What is the use? For the sake
of जशत्व and वत्व. This root उच्च उच्चिता is read with *upadhmāniya*
for its penultimate. If it takes जशत्व, the forms उच्चिता and
उच्चितुम् may be got.

बद्युठिजरूपधार्मीयोपधः पठ्यते उच्चितिपति इति उपधार्मीयादेरेव द्विवचनं
प्राप्नोति, दक्षारोपये पुनः नन्द्राः संयोगाद्यः इति प्रतिषेधः सिद्धो भवति

If the root उच्च is read with *upadhmāniya* for its penultimate,
the doubling of that commencing with *upadhmāniya* (*i. e.*)
विज्ञ in उच्चितिपति takes place. If, on the other hand, the
penultimate is दक्षार, prohibition of its doubling takes place by
the *sūtra* नन्द्राः संयोगाद्यः.

यदि दक्षारोप्तः पठनेते का रूपसिद्धिः, उच्चिता, उच्चितुम् हति :

If it is read with दक्षार for its penultimate, how are the forms उच्चिता and उच्चितुम् to be got?

असिद्धे भ उद्गेः—इदमस्ति स्तोः इच्छना इच्छुः इति, ततो वक्ष्यामि भ उद्गेः,
उद्गेः इच्छना सञ्चिपते मो भवतीति

In the *asiddhaprakarana* the reading of भ उद्गेः. Here is the *sūtra* स्तोः इच्छना इच्छुः ; then shall I read भ उद्गेः so that त् of उद्गेः will become भ when it is followed by इच्छुः and चयने.

तत्त्वं ह वक्तव्यम्

Then it is to be read.

न वक्तव्यम्, निपातनादेव सिद्धम्

No, it need not be read since it is accomplished by *nipātana*.

के निपातनम्!

Which *nipātana*?

भुजन्युब्जौ पाण्युपतापयोः हति

The *nipātana* is भुजन्युब्जौ पाण्युपतापयोः

इहापि तहि प्रामोति, अभ्युदः समुदः हति

Even here in अभ्युदः and समुदः will it come.

अकुलविषये तत्त्विपातनम् । अथवा नैतदुच्चेऽर्थं, गमेरेतत् द्वयुपसर्गाङ्को विधी-
त्वते, अभ्युदतः अभ्युदः, समुदतः समुद्रः हति

The *nipātana* is where there is no कुल्य. Or this is not derived from the root उच्च, but from गम् where तः takes place when

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the root गम् is preceded by two prepositions. अभ्युदतः becomes अभ्युदः, and समुद्रतः becomes समुद्रः.

पत्वं च प्रयोजनम्—सर्पिःषु, धनुःपु—शब्दवाय इति पत्वं सिद्धं भवति, तुम्हि-
सर्वनीयशब्दवायेऽपि इति विसर्वनीयमहणं न कर्तव्यं भवति

पत्वं is the benefit as in सर्पिःषु and धनुःपु. It is achieved since there is शब्दवाय. So the word विसर्वनीय in तुम्हिसर्वनीय-शब्दवाये is unnecessary.

नुमश्चापि तर्हि महणं शक्यमकर्तुम्

In that case even the word नुम् is unnecessary,

कमं सर्पिःषि, धनुःपि ?

How are the forms सर्पिःषि and धनुःपि to be got ?

अनुस्वारे कृते शब्दवाय हत्येव सिद्धम्

After the *anusvāra* is brought in, पत्वं is accomplished by शब्दवाय.

अवश्यं नुमो शहणं कर्तव्यम्, अनुस्वारविशेषणं नुममहणम्, नुमो योऽनुस्वारः
तत्र यथा स्यात्, इह मा भूत्-पुंसु इति

Reading of नुम् is necessary. It is taken as the विशेषण of *anusvāra* so that पत्वं may take place where *anusvāra* has replaced नुम् and may not take place in पुंसु.

अथवा अविशेषणोपदेशः कर्तव्यः

Or they have to be read wherever necessary.

कि प्रयोजनम् ?

What is the use ?

अविशेषण संयोगोपवासंज्ञालोऽन्त्यद्विर्चनस्थानिवद्धावप्रतिपेधाः

Reading wherever necessary for the sake of the संज्ञा॑s, संयोग and उपधा॒, for the operation of अलोऽन्त्यविधि and द्विर्चनविधि and for the prohibition of स्थानिवद्धाव.

अविशेषण संयोगसंज्ञा प्रयोजनम्—उ॒ऽवत्क हलोऽनन्तराः संयोगः इति संयोगसंज्ञा, संयोगे गुरु इति गुरुसंज्ञा, गुरोः . . . इति प्लुतो भवति । उपधा॒-संज्ञा च प्रयोजनम्—दुष्कृतम्, निष्कृतम्, दुर्घीतम्, निर्घीतम्, इदुदुपघस्य चाप्रत्ययस्य इति एते सिद्धं भवति

By reading it wherever necessary, संयोगसंज्ञा is one *prayojana*. In उ॒ऽवत्क, the letter उ is *pluta* संयोगसंज्ञा and गुरुसंज्ञा are got by the operation of the *sūtras* हलोऽनन्तराः ज्योगः and संयोगे गुरु and it becomes *pluta* after being operated upon by the *sūtra* गुरोः उपधा॒-संज्ञा also is another *prayojana*. The चतुर्थ is achieved in दुष्कृतम्, निष्कृतम्, दुर्घीतम् and निर्घीतम् by the operation of the *sūtra* इदुदुपघस्य चाप्रत्ययस्य.

नेतदस्मि प्रयोजनम् ; न इदुदुपघ्रहणेन विसर्जनीयो विशेष्यते

This is not a *prayojana*, for the penultimate इ and उ do not qualify the *visarga*.

कि तर्हि ? What then ?

सकारो विशेष्यते, इदुदुपघस्य सकारस्य यो विसर्जनीय इति

सकार is qualified thus—the *visarga* which has replaced सकार in the word having for the penultimate इत् and उत्.

अथवा उपधाव्रहणं न करिष्यते । इदुद्यां तु परं विसर्जनीयं विशेषयिष्यामः इदुद्यामुत्तरस्य विसर्जनीयस्य इति

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Or उपाधा is not read there. We shall qualify the *visarga* as followed by इत् and उत् thus—इदुन्नयामुत्तरस्य विसर्जनीयस्य.

अलोऽन्त्वविधिश्च प्रयोजनम्—वृक्षस्तरति, पुक्षस्तरति,—अलोऽन्त्वस्य विधयो
भवन्तीति अलोऽन्त्वस्य सत्त्वं सिद्धं भवति

The operation of अलोऽन्त्वविधि also is a *prayojana*. In the examples वृक्षस्तरति and पुक्षस्तरति, सकार takes the place of *visarga* by taking recourse to the rule अलोऽन्त्वस्य विधयो भवन्ति.

एतदपि नाहिति प्रयोजनम् । निर्दिश्यमानस्य आदेशा भवन्ति इति विसर्जनीय-
सत्त्वं मविष्यति

This too is not a *prayojana*. Since *ādīśas* replace only what is mentioned ; सकार replaces only the *visarga*.

द्विर्वचनं प्रयोजनम्—उरःकः, उरःपः—अनन्ति च अच उत्तरस्य यरे द्वे
भवति इति द्विर्वचनं सिद्धं भवति

Doubling is another benefit. In the examples उरःकः and उरःपः doubling is achieved by the operation of the *sūtra* अनन्ति च which means that यर following a vowel is doubled.

स्थानिवद्वावपतिषेधश्च प्रयोजनम्, यथेह भवति उरःकेण, उरःपेण, इति अद्वयवाय इति गत्वम् एवमिहापि स्थानिवद्वावात्माप्नोति, व्यूढोरस्केन महोरस्केन इति ;
तत्र अनलिंघधौ इति प्रतिषेधः सिद्धो भवति

स्थानिवद्वावपतिषेध also is a *prayojana*; just as गत्व may come by अद्वयवाय in उरःकेण and उरःपेण, so also the गत्व may come by स्थानिवद्वाव in व्यूढोरस्केन and महोरस्केन and it is prevented by अनलिंघधौ.

IV

कि पुनरिसे वर्णा अर्थवतः, आहोस्त्रित् अनर्थकाः ?

Do these letters have meaning or no ?

अर्थवन्तो वर्णः धातुप्रतिपादिकगत्यविनिपातानाम् एकवर्णानामर्थदर्शनात्

Letters have meaning, since there is meaning in one-lettered roots, stems, affixes and *nipātas*.

अर्थवन्तो वर्णः । कृतः ? धातुप्रतिपादिकगत्यविनिपातानामेकवर्णानामर्थदर्शनात् । धातव एकवर्णी अर्थवन्तो दृश्यन्ते—एति, * अध्येति, † अधीते ‡ हति । प्रातिपादिकान्वेकवर्णान्वयवन्ति—आम्बान्, एभि., एषु । गत्यवा एकवर्णी अर्थवन्तः—ओपगवः, कापटवः । निपाता एकवर्णी अर्थवन्तः—अ अपेहि, ह इन्द्रं पश्य, उ उचिष्ट, अ अपकाम । धातुप्रतिपादिकगत्यविनिपातानामेकवर्णानामर्थदर्शनामन्यामहे अर्थवन्तो वर्णी इति

Letters have meaning. Why? Since meaning is found in one-lettered roots, stems, affixes and *nipātas*. One-lettered roots having meaning are found. viz. एति, अध्येति, अधीते. One-lettered stems having meaning are found. viz. आम्बान्, एभि., एषु । One-lettered affixes having meaning are found. viz. ओपगवः, कापटवः. One-lettered *nipātas* having meaning are found. viz. अ अपेहि, ह इन्द्रं पश्य, उ उचिष्ट, अ अपकाम. We think that letters have meaning since one-lettered roots, stems, affixes and *nipātas* are found to have meaning.

वर्णव्यत्ययं चार्थान्तरगमनात्

On account of change in meaning by the change in letters.

वर्णव्यत्यये च अर्थान्तरगमनान्मन्यामहे अर्थवन्तो वर्णी इति—कूपः सूपो यूप हति—कूप हति सक्कारेण कश्चिदर्थो गम्यते, सूप इति कक्कारापाये सक्कारोपजने चार्थान्तरं गम्यते, यूप इति कक्कारसक्कारापाये यक्कारोपजनेऽर्थान्तरं गम्यते । तेन मन्यामहे यः कूपे कूरार्थः स कक्कारस्य ३ यः सूपे सूपार्थः स सक्कारस्य, यो यूपे यूपार्थः स यक्कारस्य इति

* Root उण्. † Root हृ. ‡ Root इृ.

३ अन्यासोऽप्न्याः सक्कारस्येति; त एवमाहुः सह कक्कारेण अर्थवता इति (*Pradipikī*)

We think that letters have meaning since meaning changes in words if one letter is replaced by another. viz. कृपः, सूपः, यूपः. The word कृपः is seen to have one meaning when it is with कक्तार; another meaning is seen in the word सूपः where क is removed and स् is placed in its stead; and another meaning is seen in the word यूपः where both क् and स् are removed and य् is placed instead. Therefore we think that the meaning of the word कृप is in its कक्तार, that of सूप is in its सक्तार and that of यूप is in its यक्तार.

वर्णानुपलब्धौ चानर्थगतेः

On account of the absence of that meaning in the absence of one letter.

वर्णानुपलब्धौ चानर्थगतेर्मन्यामहे अर्थवन्तो वर्णा इति—वृक्षः, ऋक्षः काण्डीरः, आण्डीरः—वृक्ष इति सवकारेण कश्चिदथो गम्यते, ऋक्ष इति वक्ताशापाये सोऽयो न गम्यते। काण्डीर इति सक्कारेण कश्चिदथो गम्यते, आण्डीर इति कक्ताशापाये सोऽयो न गम्यते

We think that letters have meaning since, in the absence of one letter, that meaning is not found. viz. वृक्षः, ऋक्षः काण्डीरः, आण्डीरः. The word वृक्ष is found to have a meaning when it is with the letter व् and when that letter is removed, the same meaning is not found in the word ऋक्षः. The word काण्डीरः is found to have a meaning when it is with the letter क् and when that letter is removed, the same meaning is not found in the word आण्डीरः.

किं तर्हुच्चते अनर्थगतेः इति, न साधीयो यत्रार्थस्य गतिर्भवति?

Why is it said अनर्थगतेः? Is not its meaning well understood?

एवं तर्हि इदं पठितव्यं स्मात् वर्णानुपलब्धौ चातदर्थगतेः इति

If so, it should be read thus वर्णानुपलब्धौ चातदर्थगतेः

किमिदम् अतदर्थगतेरिति !

What is meant by अतदर्थगतेः ?

तस्यार्थः तदर्थः; तदर्थस्य गतिः तदर्थगतिः; न तदर्थगतिः अतदर्थगतिः; अतदर्थगतेरिति । अथवा सोऽर्थः तदर्थः; तदर्थस्य गतिः तदर्थगतिः; न तदर्थगतिः अतदर्थगतिः; अतदर्थगतेरिति

The word अतदर्थगतेः is taken to be the ablative case of अतदर्थगतिः which is the compound of न and तदर्थगतिः. तदर्थगतिः is taken to be the *latpurusa* compound of तदर्थ and गतिः, where तदर्थ is the compound of तस्य and अर्थः. Or अतदर्थगतेः is taken to be the ablative case of अतदर्थगतिः which is the compound of न and तदर्थगतिः. तदर्थगतिः is taken to be the *latpurusa* compound of तदर्थ and गतिः, where तदर्थ is the compound of सः and अर्थः.

स तर्हि तथा निर्देशः कर्तव्यः

Then it should be read so,

न कर्तव्यः; उत्तरपदलोपोऽत्र द्रष्टव्यः—तथा उष्ट्रमुखमिव मुखम् अस्य
उष्ट्रमुखः; खस्मुखः । एवम् अतदर्थगतेः अनर्थगतेः इति

No, it need not be read. Here it is to be construed that the following word has been dropped. Just as in the word उष्ट्रमुखः whose विग्रहवाक्य is उष्ट्रमुखमिव मुखम् अस्य the word मुखम् after उष्ट्र् is dropped and also in खस्मुखः, so also in the word अनर्थगतेः the word तद् after अ is dropped *.

संघातार्थवच्चाच्च

On account of the collection having meaning.

* न between अ and अर्थगतेः should be taken as intervocalic.

संघातर्थवत्त्वाच् मन्यामहे अर्थवन्तो वर्णो इति, येषां संघाता अर्थवन्तः अव-
यवा अपि तेषाम् अर्थवन्तः । येषां शब्दयवा अर्थवन्तः समुदाया अपि तेषां अर्थवन्तः—
तद्यथा, एकश्चक्षुभ्यान् दर्शने समर्थः तत्समुदायश्च शतमपि समर्थम्; एकश्च तिलसैल-
दाने समर्थः तत्समुदायश्च सार्वपि तेलदाने सनर्थी; येषां पुनरवयवा अनर्थकाः;
समुदाया अपि तेषामनर्थकाः—तद्यथा, एकोऽन्यो दर्शने असमर्थः तत्समुदायश्च शत-
मध्यसमर्थम्, एका च सिंहाता तेलदाने असमर्थी तत्समुदायश्च तारीयतमध्यसमर्थम्

We think that letters have meaning since their collection has meaning. If the collections of letters have meaning, their parts too, have meaning. If the parts have meaning, their wholes also have meaning, viz. If one man with eyes is able to see, a collection of hundred such men is able to see. If one gingelly seed is capable of giving oil, 64 *marakkal* of gingelly seed is capable of giving oil. If the parts have no meaning, their wholes also cannot have meaning, viz. If one blind man is not able to see, a collection of hundred such men cannot see; if one particle of sand cannot give oil, hundred *khāri* of the same cannot give oil.

यदि तर्हि हमे वर्णो अर्थवन्तः अर्थरद्धानि प्राप्नुवन्ति ।

If then these letters have meaning, they will be operated upon by the rules which operate on those that have meaning.

कानि : What are they ?

अर्थवल्यातिपादिकम् इति प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा, प्रातिपदिकात् इति स्वाद्यत्पत्तिः
सुवन्तं पदम् इति पदसंज्ञा

† एतदुक्तं भवति—प्रयोगे अर्थवत्त्वां मत्या न दोषेऽप्स्त, शब्देषु किञ्चिदिनश्यति
(Pradipikā)

They will get the designation प्रातिषदिकम् by अर्थवत्प्रातिपदिकम्, will receive the case-suffixes after them by प्रातिपदिकात्.. and will get the designation पदम् by सुचन्ते पदम्

तत्र को देखः !

What is the harm there ?

पदस्य इति नलोपाद्वानि प्राप्नुवन्ति वनं वनम् इति

The elision of न and others will take place in the words वनम् and वनम् by the operation of पदस्य.

संघातस्यैकार्थ्यात् सुबभावो वर्णात्

Collection having one meaning, absence of case-suffixes after letters.

संघातस्य एकत्वमर्थां, तेन वर्णात्सुवृत्पत्तिर्न भविष्यति

Since the collection has one meaning, case-suffixes will not come after each letter.

अनर्थकास्तु प्रतिवर्णमर्थात्सुपलब्धेः

Letters, on the other hand, have no meaning since meaning is not had for every letter.

अनर्थकास्तु वर्णाः । कृतः । प्रतिवर्णमर्थात्सुपलब्धेः । न हि प्रतिवर्णमर्थी उपलब्धन्ते । किमिदं प्रतिवर्णमिति । वर्णं वर्णं प्रति प्रतिवर्णम्

Letters have no meaning. Why ? Since meaning is not found for every letter. Meanings are not got for every letter. How is प्रतिवर्णम् derived ? प्रतिवर्णम् is derived thus—वर्णं वर्णं प्रति.

वर्णव्यत्ययापायोपजनविकरेष्वर्थदर्शनात्

Since the same meaning is present though there is metathesis, elision, augment or substitution of letters.

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वर्णव्यत्यवापायोपजनविकारेवर्थदर्शनान्मन्यामहे अनर्थका वर्णा इति । वर्णव्यत्यये—कृतेस्तर्कः, कसः: सिकता, हिंसः: सिंहः; वर्णव्यत्ययः नार्थव्यत्ययः । अपायोलोपः—हतः, निन्ति, प्रन्तु, अप्नन्; वर्णपायो नार्थपायः । उपजन आगमः—लविता, लवितुम्; वर्णपजनः नार्थोपजनः । विकार आदेशः—घातयति, घातकः; वर्णविकारो नार्थविकारः । वर्धन वर्णव्यत्यवापायोपजनविकारा भवन्ति तद्रूप अर्थव्यत्यवापायोपजनविकारभीवितव्यम् न चेह तद्रूप । अतो मन्यामहे अनर्थका वर्णा इति

We think that letters have no meaning since the same meaning is found though there is metathesis, elision, augment or substitution of letters. In metathesis, तर्कः is from कृत्, सिकता is from कस् and सिंहः is from हिंसः; here is metathesis only of letters and no change in meaning. अपाय means elision—viz. हतः, निन्ति, प्रन्तु, अप्नन्. Here is elision of letters and not of meaning. उपजन means augment viz. लविता, लवितुम्. Here is only augmentation of letters and not of meaning. विकार means आदेश viz. घातयति, घातकः. Here is only substitution of letters and not of meaning. As there is metathesis, elision, augment or substitution of letters, so should there be change, elision, augmentation and substitution in meaning. It is not so here. Hence we think that letters have no meaning.

उभयमिदं वर्णेषूक्तम्—अर्थवल्तोऽनर्थका इति च, किमत्र न्यायम् ?

Both has been said with regard to letters that they have meaning and that they have not. Which is right here ?

उभयमिल्याह

Both, says he.

कृतः ? How ?

स्वभावतः । तदथा—समानमीहमानानां चार्थीयानानां केचिदर्थैर्युज्यन्ते अपरेन; न चेदानीं कश्चिदर्थवानिति कृत्वा सर्वेरर्थवद्धिः शक्यं भवितुम्, कश्चिद्ग्रा अनर्थक इति कृत्वा सर्वेरनर्थकैः

By nature. For instance, of those persons who study equally with the same hope (of getting money), some get it and others do not.* Because one gets money, it is not necessary that all have got money and because one has not got money, it is not necessary that all have not got money.

तत्र किमस्समिः शक्यं करुम् ?

If so, what are we to do here?

यद्गातुप्रत्ययप्रातिपदिकनिपाता एकवर्णी अर्थवन्तो अतोऽन्येऽनर्थका इति । स्वाभाविकमेतत्

Such single letters as stand as roots, affixes, stems and *nipātas* have meaning and the rest have no meaning. This is quite natural.

कथं य एष भवता वर्णनामर्थवचायां हेतुरूपदिष्टः—अर्थवन्तो वर्णी धातु-प्रातिपदिकप्रत्ययनिपातानामेकवर्णीनामर्थदर्शनाद्वार्णव्यत्यये चार्थान्तरगमनाद्वर्णनुपलब्धौ चानर्थं गते: सह्यातार्थवस्त्वाच इति[†] । सह्यातान्तरगमन्येवैतान्येवं जातीयकानि अर्थान्तरेषु वर्तन्ते, कृपः सूपे यूप इति । यदि हि वर्णव्यत्ययकृतमर्थान्तरगमनं स्यात् भूयिष्ठः कृपार्थः सूपे स्यात्, सूपार्थश्च कृपे, कृपार्थश्च यूपे, यूपार्थश्च कृपे, सूपार्थश्च यूपे, यूपार्थश्च सूपे; यतस्तु स्वलु न ते किञ्चिल्कृपत्य वा सूपे, सूपस्य वा कृपे, कृपस्य वा यूपे, यूपस्य वा

* This sentence is interpreted also thus:—Of those who equally strive after (wealth), some get it and others do not; of those who equally study, some get the desired object and others do not.

[†] कवित् is another reading.

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कृपे, सूपस्य वा यूपे, यूपस्य वा सूपे, जतो मन्यामहे सङ्घातान्तराण्येवैतान्येवंजातीय-
कानि अर्थान्तरेषु वर्तन्ते इति ; इदं सल्लिपि भवता वर्णानामधीवत्तां ब्रुवता साधीयोऽन-
धिकत्वं दोतिर्तं—यो हि मन्यते यः कृपे कृपार्थः स ककारस्य, यः सूपे तूपार्थः स सका-
रस्य, यो यूपे यूपार्थः स यक्कारस्येति, जग्यावद्वस्यानर्थकः स्यात्

What about the reasons enunciated by you to comprehend that letters have meaning—अर्थवन्तो वर्णोः... सङ्घातार्थवत्त्वाच ? The words of the type कृपः, सूपः and यूपः are different letter smaller groups having different meanings. If the change in their meaning is due only to the change of a single letter, the major portion of the meaning of कृप should lie in सूप, that of सूप in कृप, that of कृप in यूप, that of यूप in सूप, that of सूप in कृप, that of कृप in यूप, that of यूप in कृप, that of सूप in यूप and that of यूप in सूप. Since there is nothing of the meaning of कृप in सूप, that of सूप in कृप, that of कृप in यूप, that of यूप in कृप, that of सूप in यूप and that of यूप in सूप, we think that these are different groups having different meanings. Even this has been very well suggested by you that letters have no meaning while proving that letters have meaning. He who thinks that the meaning of कृप is in ककार, that of सूप in सकार, and that of यूप in यक्कार, has to decide that कृप has no meaning.

तत्रेदमपिहतं सङ्घातार्थवत्त्वाचेति

There this—सङ्घातार्थवत्त्वाच—has been left unanswered.

एतस्यापि प्रतिपदिकसंज्ञाया परिहारं वदन्ति

Answer for this also will be given later while dealing with प्रतिपदिकसंज्ञा *

* The answer is this :— इच्छो शतदर्थेन गुणेन गुणितोऽर्थभावः सुराहवत् रथाहवत्. It is seen that wholes have meaning unconnected with the meaning of the parts, as wine and chariot are unconnected with the quality of their parts.

अद्वयं, अलक्षणं, एओह्, एओ॒न्

प्रत्याहारः अनुबन्धानां कथमज्ञहणेषु * न

Why is the non-inclusion of *anubandhas* in the *pratyāhāra* अच्च ?

य एते अभ्यु प्रत्याहारार्था अनुबन्धाः कियत्ते एतेषामज्ञहणेन ज्ञहणं कसान्न
मवति ?

Why are not the *anubandhas* (ए क्ष ह and च) which are read in the *śiltras* अद्वयं, अलक्षणं, एओह् and एओ॒न् to form *pratyāhāras* included under अच्च ?

किं च ल्यात् ?

What if they are included ?

दधि णकारीयति, मधु णकारीयति, इति इको यणचि इति यणादेशः प्रसर्येत
इ and उ of दधि and मधु in दधि णकारीयति and मधु णकारीयति will respectively be replaced by श् and ऽ् on the strength of the *śidra* इको यणचि.

आचारात्

By *acārya*,

किमिदमाचारात् !

What is here meant by आचारात् ?

आचार्याणामुपचारात् । नेतेष्वाचार्या अच्चार्याणि कृतवनः

By the application of *Acārya*. † *Acārya* has not treated them as अच्च .

* अभ्यु is another reading. It means अच्चप्रत्याहारार्थाधकमज्ञेषु.

† The *Acārya* here refers to the author of the *śiltra* तुष्टिप्राप्तिः
कास्यपस्य.

अप्रधानत्वात्

On account of their secondary nature.

अप्रधानत्वाच्च न स्वल्पयेतेषां अस्यु प्राधान्येनोपदेशः किम्यते

Since they are secondary here, they are not read in these four *sūtras* primarily.

क तर्हि !

Where then are they read primarily ?

हल्पु

In the *sūtras* which enable us to form the *pratyāhāra* हल्प.

कृत एतत् !

How is it so understood ?

एषा लाचार्यस्य शैली लक्ष्यते, यत्तु ल्यजातीयांस्तु ल्यजातीयेषु उपदिशति,
अचोऽस्यु, हल्पे हल्पु

This is the procedure of *Ācārya* that he reads the letters of the same family together. The vowels in the *sūtras* forming the *pratyāhāra* अच् and consonants in those forming the *pratyāhāra* हल्प.

लोपश्च चलवत्तरः

The elision is stronger.

लोपः स्वल्पपि तावद्द्वन्द्वति

The elision (by the *sūtra* तस्य लोपः) takes place before "(the formation of प्रत्याहार by the *sūtra* आदिरस्त्येन सहेता)

ऊकालोऽजिति वा योगस्तत्कालानां यथा भवेत् ।
अचां ग्रहणमन्कार्यं तेर्नपां न भविष्यति ॥

The *sūtra* is split as ऊकालोऽच्, so that the designation अच् may come only to such sounds as have their quantity and so that it may not come to these.

अथवा योगविभागः करिष्यते, ऊकालोऽच्—उ ऊ उ॒ इत्येवंकालोऽभवति—
ततः हस्तदीर्घप्लुतसञ्जश्च भवति ऊकालोऽच्

Or the *sūtra* is split thus ऊकालोऽच्, meaning that अच् is that which has the quantity of उ, ऊ and उ॒ and then हस्तदीर्घप्लुतः meaning that अच् having ऊकाल get the designation of हस्त, दीर्घ and प्लुतः.

एषमपि कुक्षुट हस्तनापि प्राप्नोति

Even then the designation अच् will come to कृ of कुक्षुट.

तमात् पूर्वोक्त एव परिहारः

Hence the answer has already been given. *

एष एवार्थः

The same is the conclusion.

अपर आह †

Another says.

हस्तादीनां च चनात् प्राण्यावचावदेव योगोऽस्तु ।
अन्कार्याणि यथा स्युस्तत्कालेष्वल्लु कार्याणि ॥

Let the *sūtra* be as it is before—हस्तदीर्घप्लुतः—so that the rules dealing with अच् may operate upon such अच् as have that quantity.

* At the end of ऐर्णीचं *bhāṣya*.

† This shows that *Mahābhāṣyakāra* commented upon *vartikas* of different authors, some of which were in *śloka* form.

VI

अथ किमर्थम् अन्तःस्वानामण्डपदैशः किमते * ?

Now why are the semi-vowels so mentioned as to be operated upon by the *sūtra* अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः.

इह सर्वयैवना सच्चैवत्सरः यलैङ्गोकम् तलैङ्गोकम् इति परस्वर्णस्यामिद्वत्वात् अनुस्वारस्यैव द्विर्वचनम् । तत्र परस्वर्णं कृते तस्य व्याख्येन ग्रहणात् पूर्वस्यापि परस्वर्णं यथा स्यात्

Since, in the examples सर्वयैवना सच्चैवत्सरः, यलैङ्गोकम्, तलैङ्गोकम्, परस्वर्ण (by the *sūtra* अनुस्वारस्य यथि परस्वर्णः) is *asiddha*, the doubling will be to the *anusvāra* alone. When the second is made परस्वर्ण there, the first too may be made परस्वर्ण taking the second to be यथा.

तेतदन्ति प्रयोजनम् । वक्ष्यत्येतत्—द्विर्वचने परस्वर्णत्वे सिद्धं वक्तव्यम्—इति । यावता सिद्धत्वमुच्यते परस्वर्णं एव तावद्वयति

No, this is not the benefit. He is going to say that परस्वर्णत्वं in the case of द्विर्वचन is to be considered सिद्ध. Since it is stated सिद्ध, परस्वर्णत्व first takes place.

परस्वर्णं तर्हि कृते तस्य व्याख्येन ग्रहणाद्विर्वचनं यथा स्यात्

If then परस्वर्णत्व is made, doubling will take place since it may be considered यत्.

मा मद् द्विर्वचनम्

Let there be no doubling.

* Cf. किमर्थमणुदित्सवर्णस्य इति गकोरेण प्रलाहारः किमते, यत्र अन्तस्या अप्यन्तमाने, न पुनर्वक्तव्यं प्रलाहारः किमते (*Pradipikā*).

अणुदित्सवर्णस्येति कस्मात् हनमिति प्रधः (*Kātiyāya*.)

ब्रह्मः सुष्टुपदेशः . . . अणु उपदेश इति हु नार्थः (*Nāgēśa*).

ननु च भेदो भवति. सति द्विर्वचने त्रियकारकम्, असति द्विर्वचने द्वियकारकम्.
Oh, difference will there be! When there is doubling, there will be three *yakāras* and when there is no doubling, there will be only two *yakāras*.

नास्ति भेदः; सत्यपि द्विर्वचने द्वियकारकमेव

No, there is no difference; since even when there is doubling, there are only two *yakāras*.

कथम्? How?

हलो यमा यमि लोपः इत्येवमेकस्य लोपेन भवितव्यम्

One should be dropped on the operation of the *sūtra* हलो यमा यमि लोपः.

एवमपि भेदः; सति द्विर्वचने कदाचित् द्वियकारकं, कदाचित् त्रियकारकम्;
असति द्वियकारकमेव

Even then there will be difference. When there is doubling, there will be sometimes three *yakāras* and sometimes two *yakāras*. If there is no doubling, there will be only two *yakāras*.

स एष कर्तुं भेदो न स्यात्!

How will there be no such difference?

यदि नित्यो लोपः स्यात्; विभाषा च स लोपः

(It will be so) if the elision is *nitya*; but it is *vibhāṣa*.

यथाऽभेदस्तथास्तु

Let it be taken in that way wherein there will be no difference.

अनुवर्तते विभाषा शरोऽनि यद्वारयत्ययं द्वित्वम्

विभाषा follows since he prohibits doubling by the *sūtra* शरोऽनि.

यद्यत्र शरोऽनि इति द्विर्वचनप्रतिषेधं जाप्ति, तत्र ज्ञाप्यत्याचार्योऽनुवर्तते विभाषा इति

Since he prohibits doubling by the *sūtra* शरोऽनि, *Acārya* suggests that विभाषा follows.

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम् ?

On what interpretation will it become ज्ञापक ?

नित्ये हि तस्य लोपे प्रतिषेधार्थो न कश्चित् स्यात्

If the *lōpa* is *nitya*, there will be no use of prohibition.

यदि नित्यो लोपः स्यात् प्रतिषेधवचनमनर्थकं स्यात् । अस्त्वत्र द्विर्वचनं, शरोऽनि सर्वर्णे इति लोपो भविष्यति । पश्यति त्वाचार्यः विभाषा स लोप इति; तसो द्विर्वचनप्रतिषेधं जाप्ति

If the elision is *nitya*, the *sūtra* enjoining prohibition will be of no use. Let there be doubling. Elision takes place by the *sūtra* शरोऽनि सर्वर्णे. *Acārya* sees that the elision is optional and so reads the *sūtra* prohibiting doubling.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम् । नित्येऽपि तस्य लोपे स प्रतिषेधोऽवश्यं वक्तव्यः, यदेतद् अचो रहाम्यां इति द्विर्वचनं लोपापवादः स विज्ञायते

No, this is not a ज्ञापक; for the *sūtra* of prohibition need be mentioned even when the elision is *nitya* since the doubling enjoined by the *sūtra* अचो रहाम्याम् is considered to be the अपवाद to the लोप.

कथम् ? How ?

यत् इत्युच्यते, प्रतावन्तश्च यतः यदुत् झरो वा यमो वा । यदि चात्र लोपः स्यात् द्विर्वचनमनर्थकं स्यान् ।

यतः is said; both झरः and यमः are यतः. If there is elision here, doubling will be of no use.

किं तर्हि तयोर्योगयोरुदाहरणम् ?

What then are the examples for those two *sūtras* ?

यदकृते द्विर्वचने त्रिव्यञ्जनः संयोगः—प्रत्तम् अवत्तम् आदित्यः । इहेदानी कर्ता हर्ता इति द्विर्वचनसामर्थ्याङ्गोपो न भवति । एवमिहापि लोपो न स्यात्—कर्षति वर्षति इति । तस्मान्नित्येऽपि लोपे अवश्यं स प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ।

Where, in the absence of doubling, there are three consonants together viz. प्रत्तम् अवत्तम् आदित्यः. Here now in the examples कर्ता and हर्ता there is no elision on the strength of the enjoining of doubling. So also here in the examples कर्षति and वर्षति there is no elision. Hence even when the elision is *nitya*, that prohibition should needs be said.

तदेतदत्यन्तं सन्दिग्धं वर्तते जान्वार्याणां विमापा अनुवर्तते न वेति

Hence it is extremely doubtful whether विमापा is taken to follow or not.

अयं णकारो द्विरुच्यते पूर्वश्चैव परश्च । तत्र अण्ड्रहणेषु इण्ड्रहणेषु च सन्देहो भवति, पूर्वेण वा स्युः परेण वा इति

This णकार is used twice at the end of the *pratyāhāra sūtras* one before and the other after. There in the *sūtras* having अण and इण arises the doubt whether the *pratyāhāra* is with the former ण or with the latter इ.

LECTURES ON PATAÑJALI'S MAHĀBHĀŠYĀ

कृतमस्मिन्स्तावदणुअहणे सन्देहः ?

In which *sūtra* mentioning अणु does the doubt arise ?

द्वूलोपे पूर्वस्य दीघोऽणः इति

In the *sūtra* द्वूलोपे पूर्वस्य दीघोऽणः.

असन्दिग्धं पूर्वेण, न परेण

It is beyond doubt that it is with the former and not with the latter.

कृत पतत् ?

How is it so understood ?

परामावात्

On account of the absence of those with the latter अणु.

न हि द्वूलोपे पैरेणः सन्ति

When there is द्वूलोप, there are no letters which are included in the *pratyāhāra* अणु with the latter अणु.

ननु चायमस्ति आतृढ आवृढ इति !

Oh there is आतृढः आवृढः !

एवं तर्हि सामर्थ्यात् पूर्वेण न परेण । यदि हि परेण स्यात् अष्महणमनर्थकं स्यात्, द्वूलोपे पूर्वस्य दीघोऽच्चः इत्येव त्रूयात् । अथ वैतदपि न त्रूयात्, अचो वेतद्भवति द्वस्त्रो दीर्घः प्लुत इति

If so, by सामर्थ्यं it is with the former and not with the latter. Had it been with the latter, the mention of अणु would have been of no use since he would have read द्वूलोपे पूर्वस्य दीघोऽच्चः.

Or he would not have read even अचः since हस्तत्व, दीर्घत्व and चक्रत्व can belong only to अचः.

अस्मिस्तर्हि अण्ग्रहणे सन्देहः केऽप्याः इति

If so, there is doubt in the *sūtra* केऽप्याः where अण् is found.

असन्दिग्धं पूर्वेण, न परेण

It is, beyond doubt, with the former and not with the latter.

कुत एतत् ?

How is it so understood ?

पराभावात् । न हि के परे अणः सन्ति

On account of the absence of those with the latter अ. For there are no letters included in the *pratyāhāra* अण् with the latter अ before the *pratyaya* 'ka.'

ननु चायमस्ति गोका नौका इति !

Oh there is this गोका नौका !

एवं तर्हि सामर्थ्यात् पूर्वेण न परेण । यदि हि परेण स्याद् अण्ग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात्, केऽच इत्येव ब्रूयात् । अथ वैतदपि न ब्रूयात्, अचो षेषाङ्ग्रहणात् हस्तो दीर्घः चक्रत्व इति

If so by सामर्थ्यं it is with the former and not with the latter. Had it been with the latter, the mention of अण् would serve no purpose since he would have read केऽचः. Or he would not have read even अचः since हस्तत्व, दीर्घत्व and चक्रत्व can belong only to अचः.

अस्मिस्तर्हि अण्ग्रहणे सन्देहः अणोऽप्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः इति

LECTURES ON PATAÑJALI'S MAHĀBHĀSYA

If so, there is doubt in this *sūtra* अणोऽप्रगृह्यस्य अनुनासिकः which contains अण्.

असन्दिग्धे पूर्वेण, न परेण

It is, beyond doubt, with the former and not with the latter.

कुत एतत् ?

How is it so understood ?

पराभावात् । न हि पदान्ताः परेणः सन्ति

On account of the absence of those with the latter ए. There are no letters in the *pratyāhāra* अण् with the latter ए which are finals of padas.

ननु चायमस्ति कर्तुं, हर्तुं !

Oh there is this कर्तुं, हर्तुं !

एवं तर्हि सामर्थ्यात्पूर्वेण न परेण । यदि हि परेण स्यात् अण्ग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात् अणोऽप्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः इत्येव ब्रूयात् । अथ वैतदपि न ब्रूयात् अच एव हि प्रगृह्या मवन्ति

If so, by सामर्थ्य it is with the former and not with the latter. Had it been with the former, the mention of अण् would serve no purpose since he would have read अणोऽप्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः. Or he would not have read even अचः since only vowels can be प्रगृह्यas.

अस्मिस्तार्हि अण्ग्रहणे सन्देहः उरण् रपर इति

If so, there is doubt in this *sūtra* उरण् रपरः which contains अण्.

असन्दिग्धे पूर्वेण, न परेण

It is, beyond doubt, with the former and not with the latter.

कुत एतत् ?

How is it so understood ?

परामावात् । न हि उः स्थाने परेऽणः सन्ति

On account of the absence of those with the latter अ. There are no letters in अश्च with the latter अ which can come as *ādīśas* of क्र.

ननु चायमस्ति कर्त्रयं हर्त्र्यम् इति !

Oh there is this कर्त्रयं हर्त्र्यम् !

किं च स्यात् ?

What if ?

यद्यत्र रूपत्वं स्थाद्यो रेफयोः श्रवणं प्रसन्न्येत

If the रेफ here is followed by रेफ, there is the possibility for two रेफs.

हलो यमां यमि लोपः इलेवमेकस्थात्र लोपो मविष्वर्तीति

The elision of one of the two will take place by the *sūtra* हलो यमां यमि लोपः.

विभाषा स लोपः । विभाषा श्रवणं प्रसन्न्येत

That elision is optional. Hence optionally there is the possibility for two रेफs.

अयं तद्विं नित्यो लोपः रो रि इति

If so, the elision by the *sūtra* रो रि is *nitya*.

पदान्तस्येत्येवं सः

It applies only to that which is at the end of *pada*.

LECTURES ON PATANJALI'S MAHABHĀSYA

न शब्दः स पदान्तस्येत्येवं विजातुम्, इह हि कोपे न स्यात्—जगृथेर्है
अजर्जीः, पास्पद्देः, अपास्पा: इति

It is not possible to take it to refer only to the रेष्ट which is पदान्त, for, otherwise there will be no elision in अजर्जीः (imperfect of जगृथै), पास्पद्देः, अपास्पा:

इह तहि मातृणां पितृणाम् इति रपरत्वं प्रसञ्जेत

If so, there will be रपरत्वं in मातृणाम् and पितृणाम्.

आचार्यभवृत्तिर्जीपयति नात्र रपरत्वं भवतीति यदयम् ऋतु इदातोः इति धातु-
ग्रहणं करोति

The use of *Acārya* suggests that there is no रपरत्वं here since he reads the word धातोः in the *sūtra* ऋतु इदातोः:

कथं कुल्या ज्ञापकम् !

How is it to be interpreted to become a ज्ञापक ?

धातुभवृणस्यैतत्वोजनम्, इह मा भूत मातृणाम् पितृणाम् इति ; यदि चात्र
रपरत्वे स्यात् धातुभवृणमनर्थके स्यात् । रपरत्वे कुते अनन्तत्वादित्वं न भविष्यति ।
पद्यति त्वाचार्यो नात्र रपरत्वं भवतीति ततो धातुभवृणं करोति

This is the benefit of the mention of धातु that रपरत्वं may not happen in मातृणाम् and पितृणाम्. If रपरत्वं is here, धातुभवृण will be of no avail; for after रपरत्वं is brought in, there will be no इत्वं since there will be no अन्तत्वं. *Acārya* sees that there is no रपरत्वं here and hence reads धातु in the *sūtra*.

इहापि तर्हि इत्वं न प्राप्नोति—चिकीर्षति जिहीर्षति

If so, there will be no इत्वं here also—in चिकीर्षति and जिहीर्षति.

मा भूदेवम् ; उपधायाश्चेत्येवं भविष्यति

Let it not be so; इत्वं comes there by the *sūtra* उपधायाश्च.

इहापि तहि प्राप्नोति मातृणां पितृणाम् इति । तसात् तत्र धातुभ्रहणे कर्तव्यम्

If so, it will come here also in मातृणाम् and पितृणाम्. Hence there is the need for the mention of धातु in the *sūtra*.

एवं तर्हि सामर्थ्यात्पूर्वेण न परेण । यदि परेण स्याद् अण्ड्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात्, उरज्जपर इत्येवं त्रयात्

If so, by सामर्थ्य, it is with the former and not with the latter. Had it been with the latter, the mention of अण् would be of no avail since he would have read उरज्जपरः.

अभिस्तर्हि अण्ड्रहणे सन्देहः अणुदित्सर्वणस्य चाप्रत्ययः इति

If so, there is doubt in the mention of अण् in the *sūtra* अणुदित्सर्वणस्य चाप्रत्ययः.

असन्दिग्मं परेण न पूर्वेण

It is, beyond doubt, with the latter and not with the former.

कुत एतत् !

How is it so understood ?

सर्वेऽण् तु परं शुर्क्षित् *

अण् in the सर्वणग्राहकस्त्र is with the latter since there is कत् in the *sūtra* उर्क्षित्.

यद्यवं उर्क्षित् हत्यृकरे तपरकरणं † करोति तज्जापवत्याचार्यः परेण न पूर्वेण इति

Since he reads कत् with त् at the end, he suggests that अण् here is with the latter and not with the former.

* सर्वेऽण् तपरं शुर्क्षित् is another reading.

† शक्तारे तपरम् is another reading.

इष्टभ्रहणेषु तर्हि सन्देहः

There is, then, doubt in the *sūtras* having इष्ट.

असन्दिग्धं परेण न पूर्वेण

It is, beyond doubt, with the latter and not with the former.

कृत एतत् ?

How is it so understood ?

स्वोस्त्वयत्र परेणेण सात्

इष्ट is with the latter in all places, on account of the mention of स्वोः.

यवेच्छति पूर्वेण, समृद्ध ब्रहणे तत्र करोति योः इति । तत्र गुरु भवति

Where he wants it with the former, he combines इ and उ and reads स्वोः. It becomes heavier.

कथं कृत्वा जापकम् ?

How is it to be understood to serve as जापक ?

तत्र विमत्तिनिर्देशे संमृद्ध ब्रहणे अर्धचतत्वो मात्राः, प्रत्याहारब्रहणे पुनस्तिसो मात्राः, सोऽयमेवं लघीयसा न्यासेन सिद्धे सति यद्ग्रीयांसं यत्कामारभते तज्जापयत्याचार्यः परेण न पूर्वेण इति

If there is mention of them in combination with case-suffix, there are अर्धचतत्वो मात्राः and if, on the other hand, there is mention through प्रत्याहार, there are only तिसो मात्राः. Since *Ācārya* has mentioned so heavily where there is a lighter course, he suggests that इष्ट is with the latter and not with the former.

किं पुनर्वर्णोत्सत्ताविवाचं यकारो द्विनुवच्यते ?

How is it that ए् is read twice as अनुवन्ध as if there is paucity of letters ?

एतत्त्वापयत्याचार्यो भवत्येषा परिभाषा व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपचिन्ने हि सन्देहादलक्षणम् इति

Ācārya suggests from this the परिभाषा that a *sūtra* has to be clearly understood from the commentary when it is not clear and it should not be thrown out on that score.

अणुदित्सर्वं परिहाय पूर्वोणाणहणं परेषोऽभणम् इति व्याख्यास्यामः

We comment that all अण्'s except in अणुदित्सर्वस्य चाप्रत्ययः are with the former and (all) इण्'s are with the latter,

अमङ्गलम्—झमञ्

किमर्थमिमौ मुखनासिकावचनावृभावनुवच्यते, न वकार एवानुवच्यते ?

What for are these two nasals (म् and झ्) used as अनुवन्धः ? Will not वकार alone do ?

कथं यानि मकारेण प्रल्याहारप्रहणानि हलो यमां यमि लोपः इति !

How will then be formed the *pratyāhāras* with म् at the end as in हलो यमां यमि लोपः ?

सन्तु वकारेण हलो यजां यजि लोपः इति

Let them be with वकार thus—हलो यजां यजि लोपः.

नैवं शक्यम्, झकारमकारपरयोरपि झकारमकारयोर्लोपः प्रसञ्जयेत

This is not possible since the possibility will arise for the elision of झ् and म् when they are followed by झ् and भ्.

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न झकारभकारौ झकारभकारपरौ स्तः

झ and भ are not followed by झ and भ.

कथं पुमः खस्यम्परे इति ?

How will then the *sūtra* पुमः खस्यम्परे be ?

एतदप्यस्तु जकारेण पुमः खस्यम्परे इति ।

Let this also be with the *anubandha* झ thus—पुमः खस्यम्परे

नैव शक्यम् । झकारभकारपरेऽपि हि त्वयि रुः प्रसञ्चेत

This is not possible since the possibility of रु will arise even when खस्य is followed by झ and भ.

न झकारभकारपरः खस्य अस्ति

There is no खस्य which is followed by झ and भ.

कथं डमो हस्वादचि डमुणित्यम् इति ?

How will then the *sūtra* डमो हस्वादचि डमुणित्यम् be ?

एतदप्यस्तु जकारेण डमो हस्वादचि डमुणित्यम् इति

Let this be with the *anubandha* झ thus—डमो हस्वादचि डमुणित्यम्

नैव शक्यम् ; झकारभकारयोरपि हि पदान्तयोः झकारभकारावाग्मौ स्थाताम्

This is not possible since the final झ and भ will get झ and भ as augments.

न झकारभकारौ पदान्तौ स्तः

There are no final झ and भ .

पञ्चमपि पञ्चागमाः त्रय आगमिनः वैष्णवाल्लङ्घातानुदेशो न प्राप्नोति:

Even then, there are five आगमs and three आगमिनs and so there will be difficulty in the operation of यथासंख्यशास्त्र.

सन्तु तावचेषामागमानामागमिनः सन्ति; इकारभक्तर्णे पदान्तौ न त्त इति कृत्वा आगमाच्चपि न भविष्यतः;

Let such be the आगमs which have आगमिनs. Since अ् and म् are not final, they do not get आगमs.

अथ किमिदमक्षरमिति ? *

Now what is meant here by अक्षरम् ?

अक्षरं न क्षरं विद्यात्

अक्षरं should be taken to mean न क्षरम् .

न क्षीयते न क्षर्ताति वा अक्षरम्

It should be derived in either of the two ways—न क्षीयते and न क्षरति.

अश्वोत्तर्वा सरोऽक्षरम्

Or it may be derived from the root अश् with the suffix सर्.

अश्वोत्तर्वा पुनरयमौणादिकः सरन् प्रत्ययः । अश्वुते इत्यक्षरम्

The root अश् is followed by the suffix सरन्. अक्षरम् is derived from the root अश् .

* Since the 14 शत्रांगs are called अक्षरसमाज्ञातः, he gives the meaning of अक्षर.

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वर्णं वाहुः पूर्वसूत्रे *

In earlier works अक्षर was explained as letter.

अथवा पूर्वसूत्रे वर्णस्य अक्षरमिति संज्ञा कियते

Or in earlier works वर्णं is given the designation अक्षर.

किमर्थमुपदिश्यते ?

What for are those read ?

अथ किमर्थमुपदेशः कियते ?

Then what for is their mention made ?

वर्णज्ञाने वाग्निवशयो यत्र च ब्रह्म वर्तते ।
तदर्थमिष्टबुद्धर्थं लघवर्थं चोपदिश्यते ॥ †

* This suggests that there was a *Vyākaranā* in the form of *śāstras* before *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. There are many places where *Mahābhāṣyakāra* makes mention of एवसूत्रं (i.e. पूर्वसूत्रे न चेऽनुबन्धः न तैरहेत्कार्याणि कियन्ते (VII, 1, 18) etc.

† अद्वैतोक्तं वार्तिकल्परेण शृणिसमवायार्थं उपदेश इति, तदेव श्लोकवार्तिकल्परोऽप्याह (Pradīpikā). From this it is clear that the two verses—

अक्षरं न स्तु विद्यादलोलेभोऽस्मीऽक्षरम् ।
वर्णं वाहुः पूर्वसूत्रे किमर्थमुपदिश्यते ॥
वर्णज्ञाने वाग्निवशो यत्र च ब्रह्म वर्तते ।
तदर्थमिष्टबुद्धर्थं लघवर्थं चोपदिश्यते ॥

are the *varttikas* of a श्लोकवार्तिकल्पar other than *Kātyāyana*,

सोऽयमक्षरसमाज्ञायो वाक्समाज्ञायः पुण्यितः फलितः चन्द्रतारकवन्प्रतिमण्डितो
वेदितव्यो ब्रह्मराशि:, सर्ववेदपुण्यफलावासिश्वास्य ज्ञाने भवति, मातापितरौ चास्य स्तर्गें
लोके महीयते

The *śāstra* through which the knowledge of वर्ण is got has for its subject वाक् where resides ब्रह्मन्. For its sake, for knowing the needed ones and for the sake of simplicity is it (*akṣara-saṃmāṇya*) read. This collection of letters which is the collection of speech should be taken to be ब्रह्मराशि when it blossoms, fructifies and shines like moon and stars. Its knowledge leads one to realise the fruits realised by the study of all Vēdas and his parents thrive well in Heaven.

प्रत्याहाराह्निकम् ends.

३. वृद्धाद्विकम्

In this *āhnika* two *sūtras*, *vrddhirādāic* and *ikōgūnavrddhī* are discussed at length. This is called *vrddhyāhnika* since the first word of the first *sūtra* is *vrddhi*.

वृद्धिरादैच् *

Here eight topics are dealt with. They are (1) why was the *sūtra* not read as वृद्धिरादैह ? (2) is वृद्धिरादैच् *uddīṣya* or आदैच् alone ? (3) need for the *adhibārasūtra* अथ संज्ञा at the beginning. (4) is this *sūtra* *saṁjñāvidhāyaka* or *śabdasādhutvādīvidhāyaka* ? (5) of the two वृद्धिः and आदैच्, which is संज्ञा and which is संज्ञित् ? (6) अन्योन्याशयतावारणम् (7) the need for the word प्रत्येकम् in this *sūtra* and the next and (8) what is the need for तप्रत्यकरण in आत् of आदैच् ?

I

कुलं † कल्पान्न भवति, चोः कुः पदस्येति ? ‡

Why is not the final च् of the word आदैच् replaced by ह् as is sanctioned by the *sūtra* चोः कुः ?

* That this *sūtra* consists of 2 words वृद्धिः and आदैच् is known from the word अन्योः in the statement of *Bhāsyakāra* later on in this *sūtra* कल्पन्योन्यासावृत्तम्. That it may be considered to be made up of three words is known from the *bhāṣya* वृद्धिः आत् एच् in the first *āhnika*. When आदैच् is one word, it has not taken the form आदैचम् since *saṁśāntarādhi* is considered to be *anitya*.

† कुलं here does not refer to all the five letters of कल्प, but to क alone.

‡ If one thinks that this point does not arise since *Pāṇini's sūtras* are intended for the *lākika* and *vaidika* words and *ādāic* is neither, he should be given this answer!—Since the *saṁjñā*, *vrddhi*, which is enjoined here may be considered to be *lākika* and its relation to *saṁjñā* is considered to be *nitya*, the *saṁjñā* *ādāic* should also be considered a *lākika* word. Or it may be considered to be the *anukarana* of what is found in the *pratubāha*. Those who uphold the theory त्रयी शब्दानां प्रत्येकाः should take आदैच् to be *jātivīka*.

मत्वात्

Because it is taken to be *bha* (and not *pada*).

कथं भसंजा ?

On what authority is it *bha* ?

अयस्मयादीनि छन्दसि इति

By the *sūtra* अयस्मयादीनि छन्दसि.

छन्दसीत्युच्यते, न चेदं छन्दः

The word *chandasī* is found there and this is not *chandas*.

छन्दोवत्सूत्राणि भवन्ति *

Vyākaranā sūtras are treated like Vedic expressions.

यदि भसंजा वृद्धिरादैजदेह्नुण इति जश्वभपि न प्राप्नोति

If it is *bha* and not *pada*, it will not change to ज् as is found in वृद्धिरादैजदेह्नुणः.

उभयसंज्ञान्यपि छन्दासि दृश्यन्ते, तथथा—स मृष्टुभा स ऋक्वता गणेन (R. V. IV, 50, 5) पदत्वात् कुल्यं भत्वाज्जश्वं न भवति; एवमिहापि पदत्वाज्जश्वं भत्वात्कुल्यं न भविष्यति

Vedic expressions are found to have both the *saṃjñas* viz. स मृष्टुभा स ऋक्वता गणेन, where ज् is changed to क् on account of *pada-saṃjñā* and क् is not changed to ग् on account of *bhasaṃjñā* in the word ऋक्वता. Similarly here ज् is changed to ज् on account of *pada-saṃjñā* and it is not changed to क् on account of *bha-saṃjñā*.

* Since *Vyākaraṇa* is said to be an important limb of *Vedas* in the first *ābhānikas*, it may be treated like *Vedas*. The reason for not having read ऐङ् as ऐङ् may be said to be for the sake of clearness. ऐङ् alone can make the reader understand easily that *Pāṇini* refers to the *pratyākāra*.

II

कि पुनरिदं तद्वितमहणं, वृद्धिरित्येवं ये आकारैकारीकारा भाष्यन्ते तेषां
अहम्, आहोस्तिदैज्ञानत्य

Is it in this *sūtra tadbhāvitagrahana** (*i.e.*) reference to the letters *a*, *ai* and *au* got by the *sūtras* enjoining *vrddhi* or reference to the letters *a*, *ai* and *au* alone. (In other words, does the designation *vrddhi* refer to only those letters *a*, *ai* *au* qualified by the term *vrddhi* or to all *a*, *ai* and *au* ?)

कि चातः ?

What if (whether it is *tadbhāvitagrahana* or no) ?

यदि तद्वितमहणं शालीयः मालीय इति बृद्धलक्षणद्वारा न प्राप्नोति । आज्ञ-
नयम् शालमयम्—बृद्धलक्षणो मयण् न प्राप्नोति, आज्ञगुप्तायनिः शालगुप्तायनिः—
बृद्धलक्षणः फिन् न प्राप्नोति ।

If it is *tadbhāvitagrahana*, the *pratyaya* 'cha' by the *sūtra* *veddhāt chaḥ* cannot be suffixed to the words शाला and माला to get the forms शालीयः and मालीयः; the *pratyaya* 'mayaḥ' by the *sūtra* 'nityam vrdhhaśarādibhyah' cannot be suffixed to the words आज्ञ and ज्ञाल to get the forms आज्ञमयम् and ज्ञालमयम्, and the *pratyaya* 'phin' by the *sūtra* 'udicām vrddhāt agotrāt' to the words आज्ञगुप्त and शालगुप्त to get the forms आज्ञगुप्तायनिः and शालगुप्तायनिः.

अथ अदैज्ञानत्य अहणं सर्वं भासः सर्वभास इति उत्तरपदवृद्धी सर्वं च
इत्येष विधिः प्राप्नोति, हह च तावती भाव्या यस्य तावद्वार्यः यावद्वार्यः वृद्धि-
निमित्तस्य . . . इति पुंवद्वावप्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति

* In *tadbhāvitagrahana* there is *āryiti* of the word *vrddhi*. The reason for this doubt is both *tadbhāvitagrahana* and *atadbhāvitagrahana* are found here. Where elision is enjoined, there is *atadbhāvitagrahana* in *lōpa* and *tadbhāvitagrahana* in *luk*, *lap* etc.

If, on the other hand, there is reference only to *ā*, *āi* and *āu*, the *sūtra* ‘*uttarapadavṛldhāu sarvāñca*’* will be applied to the word सर्वभास which is the compound of सर्वौ भासः (when the word will have its final syllable *udātta*), and when ताचती भायां यस्य, याचती भायां यस्य are compounded, there will be no *pumvaidbhāva* so that the forms ताचद्वार्यः, and याचद्वार्यः cannot be formed, (but they would become ताचतीभार्यः and याचतीभार्यः, which forms are not current in the world).

अस्तु ताहि आदैज्ञावस्य प्रहणम्

In that case, let the reference be only to *ā*, *āi* and *āu*.

ननु चोक्तं सर्वौ भासः सर्वभास इति उत्तरपदवृद्धौ सर्वे च इत्येष विधि प्राप्नोति ।

Has it not been said that, in that case, the *sūtra* उत्तरपदवृद्धौ will apply to सर्वभास which is the compound of सर्वौ भासः ?

नैव दोषः, नैव विज्ञायते उत्तरपदस्य वृद्धिः उत्तरपदवृद्धिः उत्तरपदवृद्धाविति

It is no harm; the word उत्तरपदवृद्धौ is not the locative of उत्तरपदवृद्धिः, the compound of उत्तरपदस्य वृद्धिः.

कथं ताहि ! How then ?

उत्तरपदस्य इत्येवं प्रकृत्य या वृद्धिः तद्वत्युत्तरपदे इत्येवमेतद्विज्ञायते । लब्ध्य चैतदेवं विज्ञेयम्, तद्वावितभग्ने सत्यपि इह प्रसञ्जेत सर्वः कारकः सर्वकारक इति

It is understood in this way :— उत्तरपदस्य इत्येवं प्रकृत्य या वृद्धिः तद्वत्युत्तरपदे. This should be interpreted this way, for, otherwise, even granting *tadbhāvitagrahaya* that defect will appear even in the word सर्वकारकः, the compound of सर्वः कारकः.

* *Bhattojidakī's vruti*—उत्तरपदस्येलाभिश्च या वृद्धिर्विहिता तद्वत्युत्तरपदे परे सर्वशब्दो दिक्षूद्वादश अन्तोदाता भवन्ति ; सर्वपालाकः ; अधिकारप्रहणं किम् ! सर्वभासः.

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यदप्युच्यते इह तावती भावी यस्य तावद्वार्यः यावद्वार्यः इति च वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य . . . इति पुंवद्वावप्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोतीति, नैष दोषः; नैव विज्ञायते वृद्धेनिमित्तं वृद्धिनिमित्तं, वृद्धिनिमित्तस्येति

And the other point^{*} that was raised that *pumvadbhāva-pratisēdha* will happen by the *sūtra* 'vrddhinimittasya . . .' in the case of तावद्वार्यः, the compound of तावती भावी यस्य and यावद्वार्यः cannot stand, for the word वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य is not taken to be the genitive of वृद्धेनिमित्तम्, the compound of वृद्धेनिमित्तम्.

कथं तर्हि? How then?

वृद्धेनिमित्तं यस्मिन्सोऽयं वृद्धिनिमित्तः वृद्धिनिमित्तस्येति

It is the genitive of वृद्धिनिमित्त, the compound of वृद्धेनिमित्तम् यस्मिन् सः.

कि च वृद्धेनिमित्तम्?

What is the *nimitta* of *vrddhi*?

योऽसौ ककारो, बकारो णकारो वा

Kokāra, *nakāra* or *ṇakāra*.

अथवा यः कृत्यायाः वृद्धेनिमित्तम्

Or that which is the *nimitta* of all *vrddhi*.

कथं कृत्यायाः वृद्धेनिमित्तम्?

What is the *nimitta* of all *vrddhi*?

यत्क्याणामाकौरकारौकारणाम्

That which is (the *nimitta*) of ā, āī and āū.

Since there is no *vārttika* in the first two topics, it is clear that they are *Mahābhāsyakāra's* own.

संज्ञाविकारः संज्ञासंप्रत्ययार्थः

Samjñādhikārasūtra for clear conception of *saṃjñā*.

अथ संज्ञा इत्येवं प्रकृत्य वृद्ध्यादयः शब्दाः पठितव्याः ; किं प्रयोजनम् ! संज्ञा-
संप्रत्ययार्थः, वृद्ध्यादीन शब्दानां संज्ञा इत्येष संप्रत्ययो यथा स्यात्.

There should be a *sūtra* अथ संज्ञा before *vrddhi* etc. What for ? *Samjñāsampralyayārthaḥ*, so that there may be clear conception that the words like *vrddhi* are *saṃjñās*.

इतरथा खसंप्रत्ययो यथा लोके

For otherwise, absence of clear conception, as in the world.

अकियमाणे हि संज्ञाविकारे वृद्ध्यादीनां संज्ञेत्येष संप्रत्ययो न स्यात् । इदमिदानीं वहसूवमनर्थकं स्यात् । अनर्थकमित्याह । कथम् ? । यथा लोके, लोके शर्थवन्ति चातर्थकानि च वाक्यानि * दृश्यन्ते । अर्थवन्ति तावत्—देवदत्त गामन्याज शुक्रादण्डेन, देवदत्त गामन्याज कृष्णाम् इति ; अनर्थकानि दश दाढिमानि पदपूणः कुपडमजाजिन पललपिण्डः अधरोरुक्मेतन्कुमार्याः सैव्यकृतस्य पिता प्रतिशीनः इति

If *saṃjñādhikāra* is not done, one cannot have a clear conception of *vrddhi* etc. to be *saṃjñā*. Then many chapters may become meaningless. Meaningless, says he; how ? As is in the world. There are sentences in the world both with meaning and without meaning; those that have meaning are at first, देवदत्त . . . कृष्णाम् ; those that are meaningless are दश . . . प्रतिशीनः.

* Note that the word वाक्यानि is used in the sense of groups of words whether they make a sense or no.

संज्ञासंदेहसंदेहश्च

Removal of the doubt of *samjñā* and *samjñin*.

क्रियमाणेऽपि संज्ञाधिकारे संज्ञासंजिनोरसन्देहो वक्तव्यः । कुतो येतत् वृद्धिः
शब्दः संज्ञा, आदैचः संजिन इति ; न पुनरादैचः संज्ञा, वृद्धिशब्दः संज्ञा इति

Even when the *samjñādhikārasūtra* is read, doubt should be cleared as to what is *samjñā* and what is *samjñin*. For how does one know that the word *vṛddhi* is *samjñā* and *ā*, *āi* and *āu* are *samjñīnīs* and not *ā*, *āi* and *āu* are *samjñās* and *vṛddhi*, *samjñin* ?

यत्तावदुच्यते संज्ञाधिकारः कर्तव्यः संज्ञासंप्रत्ययार्थः इति, न कर्तव्यः

The first point raised that संज्ञाधिकारः कर्तव्यः संज्ञासंप्रत्ययार्थः need not be.

आचार्याचारात् संज्ञासिद्धिः

The conception of *samjñā* from *Acārya's* use.

आचार्याचारात् संज्ञासिद्धिर्भविष्यति

One can have a definite conception of what is *samjñā* from *Acārya's* using them.

किमिद्माचार्याचारादिति !

What is here the meaning of आचार्याचारात् ?

आचार्याणामुपचारात्

By the *vyavahāra* of *Acārya*.

यथा लोकिकवैदिकेषु

As is found in those related to *loka* and *vēda*.

तथा लैकिकेयु वैदिकेयु च कृतानेयु । लोके तावन्मातपितरौ मुत्रस्य जातस्य
मंडृतेऽवकाशे नाम कुर्वते देवदत्तौ यज्ञदत्त इति । तयोरूपचारादन्येऽपि जानन्ति इय-
मस्य संज्ञेति । वेदेभ्यि याज्ञिकाः * संज्ञां कुर्वन्ति स्फ्यो यूपश्चपाल इति । तत्रभवता-
मुपचारादन्येऽपि जानन्ति इयमस्य संज्ञेति

It is like the happenings in the world and in the *vēdas*. First in the world the parents name the child that is born as *Dīvadatta*, *Yajñadatta* in a closed room and by their use, others understand that it is his name. In the *vēdas* too *yājñikas* name sacrificial utensils as *sphya*, *yūpa*, *casāla* etc. and from the use of those words made by those venerable men, others understand them to be their respective संज्ञा.

एवमिहापि ; इहैव तावत् केचिद्ग्राचक्षाणा आहुः वृद्धिशब्दः संज्ञा, अदैचः
संज्ञिन इति ; अपरे पुनः सिचि वृद्धिः . . . इत्युक्त्वा आकारैकारौकारानुदाहरन्ति ; तेन
मन्यामहे यथा प्रत्याग्यन्ते सा संज्ञा, ये प्रतीयन्ते ते संज्ञिन इति

So also here; Even here some comment that the word *vrddhi* is *saṃjñā* and *ā*, *āi* and *āu* are *saṃjñins*; others read the *sūtra* सिचि वृद्धिः . . . and illustrate it with *ā*, *āi* and *āu*; thence do we understand that with which another is denoted is *saṃjñā* and those that are denoted are *saṃjñins*.

यदप्युच्यते क्रियमाणेऽपि संज्ञाधिकारे संज्ञासंज्ञिनोरसन्देहो वक्तव्य इति

As regards the statement क्रियमाणेऽपि . . . वक्तव्यः

संज्ञासंज्ञ्यसन्देहत्व

There is no doubt about संज्ञा and संज्ञिन.

* याज्ञिकाः = यज्ञकाराददारः ऋषयः (*Uddiyata*)

संज्ञासंज्ञिनोऽथ असन्देहः सिद्धः; कुतः? आचार्याचारदेव, उक्त आचार्याचारः

Evidently there is no doubt with regard to संज्ञा and संज्ञिन्. How? From Ācārya's ācāra; ācāryācāra has been explained.

अनाकृतिः

That which has no *ākṛti*.

अथवा अनाकृतिः संज्ञा, आकृतिमत्तः संज्ञिनः । लोकेऽपि खाकृतिमतो मांस-
पिण्डस्य देवदत्त इति संज्ञा किमते

Or *samījnā* is that which has no *ākṛti* and *samījnīas* are those which have *ākṛti*. Even in the world the name *Dēvadatta* is given to the mass of flesh having *ākṛti*.*

Since it is not easy here to decide which is *ākṛtimān* and which is *anākṛtimān*, Vārttikakāra gives another reason thus:—

लिङ्गेन वा

Or with particular distinguishing mark.

अथवा किनिलिङ्गमासञ्ज्य वस्त्वामि इत्यलिङ्ग संज्ञेति; वृद्धिशब्दे च तलिङ्गं
करिष्यते, न दैच्छब्दे

Or for using a particular distinguishing mark, I shall say that *samījnā* is that which has a particular mark; and that mark is added to *vṛddhi* and not to *ādāic*.

इदं तावदशुक्तम्, यदुच्यते आचार्याचारादिति

The statement *ācāryācārāt* is inappropriate.

* *Ākṛti* though generally means *jāti* here means *manyness*; hence *anākṛti* means *oneness*.

किमत्रायुक्तम् ।

How is it here inappropriate ?

तमेवोपालभ्य अगमकं ने सूत्रमिति, तस्यैव पुनः प्रमाणीकरणमित्येतदयुक्तम् ,
अपरितुष्यन् खल्वपि भवाननेन परिहारेण अनाकृतिर्लिङ्गेन वा इत्याह

Having found fault with him that his *sūtra* is not clear it is inappropriate to take his *sūtra* as the authority. Only not being satisfied with it have you given other reasons *anākṛtiḥ lingēna vā*.

तच्चापि वक्तव्यम्

That distinguishing mark will have to be mentioned.

यद्यपेतदुच्यते, अथैतत्त्वं ह इत्संज्ञा न वक्तव्या, लोपश्च न वक्तव्यः, संज्ञालिङ्ग-
मनुवन्थेषु करिष्यते । न च संज्ञाया निवृत्तिरूप्यते । स्वभावतः संज्ञा संज्ञिनं प्रत्याक्ष्य
स्वयं निवर्तते, * तेऽनुवन्धानामपि निवृत्तिर्भविष्यति

If it is said, then there is no need for enjoining *it-samjñā* and its elision. The distinguishing mark is attached to *anubandhas* (found in roots etc.) and no *sūtra* enjoining its disappearance need be said; as the *samjñā* enabling us to understand the *samjñin* disappears of its own accord, so also the *anubandhas* disappear.

सिद्ध्यत्येवम् ; अपाणिनीर्यं तु भवति ; यथान्यासमेवास्तु

The desired object is thus accomplished. But it goes against *Pāṇini's* plan. Let the *sūtras* remain as they are.

* संज्ञा: संज्ञिनः प्रत्याक्ष्य निवर्तते in another reading.

LECTURES ON PATANJALI'S MAHĀBHĀŚYA

ननु चोक्तम् संज्ञाधिकारः संज्ञासंप्रत्ययार्थः इतरथा ह्यसंप्रत्ययो यथा लोके इति

Has it not been said that *samjnādhikāra* is for clear conception of *saṃjñā* and otherwise there will be no clear conception, as is found in the world?

न च यथा लोके तथा व्याकरणे । प्रमाणनूत आचार्यो दर्भपवित्रपाणि
शुचाववकाशे भाष्युस्त उपविद्य महता भवते न सूताणि प्रणयति स्म । तत्राशक्तम्
वर्णोनाप्यनर्थिकेन भवितुं । किं पुनरियता सूत्रण ?

The same is not the case in grammar as is in the world. The *Acārya* who is an authority for us composed these *sūtras* with great effort, having seated himself in a clean place with face turned east and with a ring made of *kṛiṣṇa* grass worn on his fourth finger. Not even a single letter there can be found to be meaningless. What about this whole *sūtra*?

किमतः? What from that?

सद्ब्रह्मक्यम्, अतः संज्ञासंज्ञिनावेद

Since it is not possible (even for a letter to be *anarthaka*), they are *saṃjñā* and *saṃjñin*.

IV

कुतो नु खल्वेतत् संज्ञासंज्ञिनावेदेति, न पुनः साध्वनुशासने अस्मिन् शास्त्रे
साध्वत्वमनेन कियते!

How is it that it is decided that they are *saṃjñā* and *saṃjñin* and not that they are decided to be correct from this *sāstra* intended to decide the correctness of words?

कृतमनयोस्ताषुत्वम्

The correctness of these two* has been ascertained.

कथम् : How ?

वृधिरसा अविशेषोपदिष्टः प्रकृतिपाठे, तस्मात् किन्त्यत्ययः। आदैचोऽप्यकर-
समाज्ञाये उपदिष्टः।

The root *vrdh* is read in *prakrtipāṭha* and the *pratyaya* 'ktin' is suffixed to it. *Āt* and *āic* are read in *Māheśvarasūtras*.†

प्रयोगनियमार्थं तर्हीदं स्यात्—वृद्धिगव्यात्मरे आदैचः प्रयोक्तव्या इति

Let then this be to decide the order of words that *ādāicah* should be used after the word *vṛddhīḥ*.

तेह प्रयोगनियम आरम्भते ?

The restriction of the order of words is not commenced here.

किं तर्हि ? What then ?

संस्कृत्य संस्कृत्य पदान्युत्सूज्यन्ते तेषां यथेष्टमभिसंवन्धो भवति, तथा
आहर पात्रम्, पात्रमाहर इति

Words are formed here. They may be connected in any way one likes, as in *āhara pāṭram* and *pāṭram āhara*.

* Two refers to *vṛddhīḥ* and *ādāic*.

† This sentence means that the letters denoted by *āt* and *āic* are read or comprehended in *Māheśvarasūtras*—अइउण and एओऽन्

‡ This clearly shows that *Pāṇini* does not deal with syntax but only with Phonology and Morphology.

LECTURES ON PATAÑJALI'S MAHĀBHĀSYA

आदेशास्तर्हि इमे स्युः, वृद्धिशब्दस्य आदैच आदेशः

Then may these be *ādēśas*; *ādāicah* are the *ādēśas* of the word *vṛddhīḥ*.

पष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्यादेशा उच्यन्ते, न चात्र पष्ठीं पश्यामः

Ādēśas are for it that is in the sixth case (explicit or implied). We do not see here the sixth case.

आगमास्तहृष्टे स्युः, वृद्धिशब्दस्यादैच आगमाः

Then may these be augments; *ādāicah* are the augments of the word *vṛddhīḥ*.

आगमा अपि पष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्यवोच्यन्ते, लिङ्गेन च । न चात्र पष्ठी न खल्वप्यागमलिङ्गं पश्यामः

Agamas also are for it that is in the sixth case or they are denoted to be such by some distinguishing mark. We do not see here either the sixth case or the *āgamalinga*.

इदं^{*} खल्वपि भृयः सामानाधिकरणमेकविभक्तिकत्वं च ; द्रव्योश्चैतद्भवति

Sāmānādhikaranya and *ekavibhaktikata* are here; this happens only in two cases.

कथोः ?

In which two cases?

विशेषणविशेष्ययोर्वा संज्ञासंज्ञिनोर्वा

In the cases wherein they are the word qualified and the qualifying word or *samjñā* and *samjñin*.

* इदम् = अत्र of इदम्भासम्मवचाप (शतपथम् 1-3-5-7).

तत्रैतस्याद्विशेषणविशेष्ये इति

Of the two, let this be the case of *vishesana* and *vishesya*.

तच्च न् द्वयोर्हि प्रतीतपदार्थक्योर्लोके विशेषणविशेष्यमात्रो भवति । न
चादैच्छब्दः प्रतीतपदार्थकः । तस्मात् संज्ञासंज्ञिनावेव

No, it is not; for *vishesana-vishesya-bhāva* happens in the world only in the case of two whose meaning is definitely known. Here the meaning of *ādāic* is not clear. Hence they are *saṁjñā* and *saṁjñin*.

V

तत् त्वेताचान् सन्देहः—कः संज्ञी का संज्ञेति

There, it is only this doubt, which is *saṁjñin* and which is *saṁjñā*.

स चापि क सन्देहः ?

Where then does that doubt arise ?

यत्रोमे समानाक्षरे । यत्र त्वन्यतरलघु सा संज्ञा, यद्गुरु स संज्ञी

Where both have the same number of syllables. Where, on the other hand, one has smaller number of syllables and another larger number of syllables, the former is *saṁjñā* and the latter is *saṁjñin*.

कुत् पृत् ?

Wherfrom is this ?

लघुये हि संज्ञाकरणम् :

For indeed it is for brevity that *saṁjñas* are made !

LECTURES ON PATANJALI'S MAHĀBHĀSYA

तत्वाप्यर्यं तावश्यं गुरुलघुतामेवोपलक्षयितुमर्हति

There too it does not invariably signify the *gurutā* and *laghutā*.

कि तरहि? What then?

अनाकृतितामपि, अनाकृतिः संज्ञा, आकृतिमन्तः संज्ञिनः, लोकेऽपि
आकृतिमनो मांसपिण्डस्य देवदत्त इति संज्ञा कियते

The state of being without *ākṛti* also. That which has no *ākṛti* is *saṃjñā* and those that have *ākṛti* are *saṃjñins*. In the world too the name *Dēvadatta* is given to the mass of flesh which has *ākṛti*.

अथवा आवर्तिन्यं संज्ञा भवन्ति । वृद्धिशब्दशावर्तते, नादैच्छब्दः । तद्यथा
इतरत्रापि देवदत्तशब्दः आवर्तते, न मांसपिण्डः

Or those which are repeated are *saṃjñās*. The word *vrddhi* is repeated and not *ādāic*. The same is the case elsewhere also—the word *Dēvadattah* is repeated and not the mass of flesh.

अथवा पूर्वोच्चारितः संज्ञी, परोच्चारिता संज्ञा

Or the first-mentioned is *saṃjñin* and the next-mentioned is *saṃjñā*.

कुत एतत्?

Whence is this?

सतो हि कायिणः कायेण भवितव्यम्, तद्यथा इतरत्रापि सतो मांसपिण्डस्य
देवदत्त इति संज्ञा कियते

For operation comes only when there is an operator. The same is seen even elsewhere—the name *Dēvadattah* is given only to the existing mass of flesh.

कथं वृद्धिरादैजिति ?

Then how is it *vrddhirādāic* ? (in other words, why is the order inverted here ?)

एतदेकमाचार्यस्य मङ्गलार्थं सृष्ट्यताम् । माङ्गलिक आचार्यो महतः शास्त्रौघस्य मङ्गलार्थं वृद्धिशब्दमादितः प्रयुक्ते । मङ्गलादीनि हि शास्त्राणि प्रथन्ते वीरपुरुषकाणि भवन्त्यायुभ्युरुपकाणि नाथेतारथं वृद्धिशुक्ता वथा स्युरिति * । सर्वत्रैव हि व्याकरणे पूर्वोचारितः संज्ञा, परोचारिता संज्ञा, अदेह्युणः इति यथा

This one used by *Ācārya* for the sake of *māngala* may be passed over. *Ācārya*, eager of *māngala*, used at the commencement, the word *vrddhiḥ* to serve as *māngala* for his great work; for, only such works have *māngala* at the commencement thrive well, making the readers strong, long-lived and prosperous. In the whole *vyākaranam*, the first mentioned is *saṃjñin* and the next mentioned is *saṃjñād* cf. *adēśī gunah*.

Having definitely mentioned the criterion to decide which is *saṃjñād* and which is *saṃjñin*, he reopens the topic of *saṃjñādhikāra* which he closed by saying न च यथा लोके तथा व्याकरणे.

* Cf. माङ्गलिक आचार्यो महतः शास्त्रौघस्य मङ्गलार्थं वकारमागमं प्रयुक्ते । मङ्गलमध्याने मङ्गलान्तानि हि शास्त्राणि प्रथन्ते वीरपुरुषकाणि च महान्ते आयुभ्युरुपशाणि नाथेतारथं मङ्गलशुक्ता वथा स्युः (*Bhāṣya* under भूवादयो धातवः 1-3-1) एवं सन्तक्षरेणापि विष्णुवाचकाकारस्य द्वितीयारणात् द्विः विष्णुस्मरणलघुं मङ्गलसाचरितम् किं आकारो वै सर्वो वाक् सैषा स्पर्शोभिर्भव्यज्यमाना नानारूपा भवति? शोत्रं भ्रुतेः आकारस्य तर्वशब्द-प्रकृतिलोकात् 'अ' इति 'वाक्' इति शब्दव्यवहारव्यवहारणात् महामङ्गलार्थंता । वार्तिकहृतापि 'भगवत्' पाणिनेः शिद्दशब्दोदारणेन कृतं नड्डलम् (*Uddyota* under अ अ VIII-4-08).

दोषवान्वक्तव्यपि संज्ञाविकारः; अष्टमेऽपि हि संज्ञा क्रियते तस्य परमाप्रेदितम्
इति, तत्रापीदमनुवत्त्ये स्यात्

Samjnādhikāra will be defective too; For there is *samjnā sūtra* like तस्य परमाप्रेदितम् in the eighth chapter. There too this *samjnādhikāra* should have its influence.

अथवाऽन्त्यानेऽयं यज्ञः क्रियते, न हीरं लोकाद्विद्यते। यदीरं लोकाद्विद्यते
ततो यज्ञाहैं स्यात्। तद्यथा—अगोज्ञाय कश्चिद्दां सवधनि कर्णे वा गृहीत्योपदिशति
अयं गौः इति; न चासायाचष्टे इयमस्य संज्ञेति, भवति चास्य संप्रत्ययः

Or this attempt is inopportune, - for this is not different from what is met in the world. If this is different from what happens in the world, then it deserves to be specially treated. For example, one takes hold of a cow by its thigh or ear and tells another ignorant of it 'this is a cow'; but he never tells him that it is her *samjnā*. Correct impression is formed in the mind of the hearer.

तत्रैतत्स्यात् कुतस्तत्र पूर्वरभिसम्बन्धः इति

There, this may be said that the *samjnā-samjnī bhāva* was determined by the forefathers.

इहापि कृतः पूर्वरभिसम्बन्धः

Here too the relation has been determined by the forefathers.

कैः? By whom?

आचार्यः By the *Ācāryas*.

तत्रैतत्स्यात् यस्मै तद्वै संप्रत्युपदिशति तस्याकृतः इति

There may this arise that he who is now taught does not know it.

लोकेऽपि हि यस्मै सम्बुद्धिश्चति तस्याङ्गतः। अय तत्र कृतः, इषापि
कृतो दृष्टव्यः।

In the world too he who is taught does not know it. If he knows it there, here also it should be taken that he knows it.

VI

ततो वृद्ध्यादिषु संज्ञाभावात् तदाश्रय इतरेतराश्रयत्वादप्रसिद्धिः

On account of inter-dependence, *samjñā* coming in when *sanjñin* exists and *sanjñin* being comprehended through *sanjñinā*, there is no clear comprehension in the words *vrddhi* etc.

सतः संज्ञिनः संज्ञाभावात्, तदाश्रये संज्ञाश्रयेसंज्ञिनि, वृद्ध्यादिष्वितरेत-
राश्रयत्वादप्रसिद्धिः।

When *sanjñin* exists, there is need for naming it; the *sanjñin* is comprehended through *sanjñinā*. Hence there is inter-dependence. On that account there is no clear comprehension of the words *vrddhi* etc. (In *sūtras* like *mr̥joh vrddhīh*.)

का इतरेतराश्रयतः।

How is interdependence?

सतामांदृचां संज्ञया भवितव्यम्, संज्ञया चाँडौ भाव्यन्ते। तदेत-
दितरेतराश्रयं भवति; इतरेतराश्रयाणि च कार्याणि न पक्षलग्नते; तथा
नौर्नवि बद्धा नेतरन्नाणाय भवति।

There should be *ādāc* so that *sanjñā* may be given to it; and through *sanjñinā* they are made to exist. This is interdependence. Deeds which are interdependent are not accomplished. For instance ship attached to another ship is not able to come to its rescue (while sinking).

LECTURES ON PATAÑJALI'S MAHĀBHĀSYA

ननु च भोः, इतरेतग्रथयाप्यपि कार्यणि दृश्यन्ते, तद्यथा नौः शक्टं
वहति, शक्टं च नावं वहति

Oh! we see even the interdependent deeds being accomplished. For instance ship carries cart and cart carries ship.

अन्यदपि तत्र किञ्चित् भवति जलं स्थलं वा; स्थले शक्टं नावं वहति,
जले नौः शक्टं वहति

Another thing is there, water or land; cart carries ship on land and ship carries cart on water.

यदा नहि त्रिविष्टव्यकम्

So then a holder (of books) made of three planks (may serve as an example.)

तत्राप्यन्ततः सूत्रकं भवति । इदं पुनरितरेतराग्रयमेव

There too exists the string (which keeps them together). Here there is only interdependence.

सिद्धं तु नित्यशब्दत्वात्

Our object is gained on account of the *nityatva* of *śabda*.

सिद्धमेतन्

Our object is gained.

कथम्? How?

नित्यशब्दत्वात् । नित्याः शब्दाः, नित्येषु शब्देषु सतामादिचां संज्ञा किञ्चते;
न च संज्ञया आदैचो भाव्यन्ते

(It is so) since *śabda* is *nitya*. *Śabdas* are *nitya*; when *śabdas* are *nitya*, *sanījñā* is given to *ādēic* which already existed: their existence is not brought out by the *sanījñā*.

बदि तर्हि नित्यः गवदः किमर्थं शास्त्रम् ?

If *sabdas* are *nitya*, what for is the *śāstra* ?

किमर्थं शास्त्रमिति चेन्वर्तकत्वात्सिद्धम्

If it is asked what for the *śāstra* is, its existence is established on account of its warding capacity.

निवर्तकम् शास्त्रम्

Śāstra has the capacity to ward off.

कथम् ? How ?

मृजिरस्यायविशेषेणोपदिष्टः, तस्य सर्वत्र मृजिबुद्धिः प्रसक्ता, तत्रानेन निवृत्तिः
क्रियते मृजेभक्तिल्पु प्रत्ययेषु सुनिप्रसङ्गे मार्जिः साधुर्भवति इति

The root *mrj* is read generally. Hence it is taken that it comes everywhere. Then this *sūtra* (*mrjēḥ vrddhibhiḥ*) prohibits it. It says that, when it is followed by *pratyayas* which are neither *kit* nor *nit*, *mārj* is the correct form in the place of *mrj*.

VII

* [वृद्धिगुणसंबयोः प्रत्येकं वचनम् वृद्धिगुणसंजयोः प्रत्येकमहणं वक्तव्यम्]

Need for the word *pratyēka* in the first two *sūtras*. The word *pratyēka* should be read in the first two *sūtras*.

प्रत्येकं वृद्धिगुणसंजे भवत इति वक्तव्यम्

It should be said that the *saṁjñā*, *vrddhibhiḥ* and *gunaiḥ* apply to each (of *ādāic* and *adēśi* respectively.)

* The Portion marked [] is not found in certain editions.

कि प्रयोजनम् ?

What is the benefit ?

समुदाये ना भूतान् इति

So that they may not apply collectively.

अन्यत्र सहवचनात्समुदाये संज्ञाप्रसङ्गः;

The word *maha* being found elsewhere, no possibility for the *sam jñā* collectively.

अन्यत्र सहवचनात्समुदाये वृद्धिगुणसंज्ञयोरप्यसङ्गः । यत्रेच्छति सहभूतानां कायं
कौपि तत्र सहभूतान् । तथाऽन्य सह सुपा, उभे अभ्यस्ते सह इति

Since the word *maha* is read elsewhere, there is no possibility for the *saṃjñā*, *vṛddhiḥ* and *guṇah* to be applied collectively. Where he wants anything collectively, he reads the word *saha*. viz. *Saha supo*, *ubhē abhyastām saha*.

प्रत्यवयवं च वाक्यपरिसमाप्तेः :

On account of the fruit of the meaning of the sentence being seen individually.

प्रत्यवयवं च वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिर्मिद्यते । तथाऽन्य देवदत्तवजदत्तविष्णुमित्रा भोज्य-
न्तामिति । न चोच्यते प्रत्येकमिति । प्रत्येकं च भुजिः परिसमाप्तते

The fruit of the meaning of the sentence is seen individually. For instance, in the sentence देवदत्तवजदत्तविष्णुमित्रा भोज्यन्ताम् the word प्रत्येकम् is not used. The fruit of eating is seen individually.

ननु नायमप्यमिति दृष्टान्तः समुदाये वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिः इति । तथाऽगर्गाः
शतं दण्ड्यन्ताम् इति । अथिनश्च राजानो हिरण्येन मवन्ति, न च प्रत्येकं दण्ड्यन्ति
Oh ! the other *nyāya* also is found that the fruit of the action is found collectively, viz. *Gargāḥ śatam dandyantām*. Kings want money and they do not fine them individually.

सति ण्टमिन् दृष्टान्ते यदि तत्र सहभ्रहणं किमते, इहापि प्रत्येक-
मिति वक्तव्यन् । अथ तत्रान्तरेण सहभ्रहणं सहभ्रहानां कार्यं सवति,
इहापि तर्थः प्रत्येकमिति वचनेत्

If, in the presence of this *nyāya*, the word *saha* is read, here too the word *pratyekam* should be read. If, without the use of the word *saha*, action may take place collectively, here too can it take place individually without the use of the word *pratyekam*.

Here it may be noted that there is slight difference in their views between *Vārtikakāra* and *Mahābhāṣyakāra*; the former does not take cognisance of the *nyāya* लकुदाये चाच्यपरिज्ञामिः and hence thinks that there is need for the word *saha* in that case and there is no need for *pratyekam* in the other case. *Mahābhāṣyakāra*, on the other hand, wants *saha* there and *pratyekam* here, if one does not take recourse to the *nyāyas* or does not want them both, since the same can be determined by the application of the two *nyāyas* mentioned above.

VIII

अथ किमर्थाकारस्तपरः क्रियते ?

Now what for is आ provided with त्?

आकारस्य तपरकरणं सवर्णर्थम्

Taparakaraya of *ākāra* is for *savarṇa*.

आकारस्य तपरकरणं किमते । किं प्रयोजनम् ! सवर्णर्थम् । तपरस्तत्कालस्य
इति तत्कालाना सवर्णानि अद्यां बथा स्वात्

It is provided with *t*. What for? For the sake of *savarṇa*—So that it may denote *savarṇas* of the same quantity by the *sūtra* तपरस्तत्कालस्य.

LECTURES ON PĀTĀNJALI'S MAHĀBHĀṢYA

केषम् ? For what (*savarnas*) ?

उदात्तानुदात्तलरितानाम् !

For *a* with *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita* accent.

कि च कारणं न स्मात् ?

Why could they not be denoted ?

भेदकत्वात्परस्य, भेदका उदात्तादयः

On account of the differentiating capacity of accent.
Udātta etc. are differentiating elements.

कथं पुनर्जायते भेदका उदात्तादय इति ?

How is it understood that *udātta* etc. are differentiating elements ?

एवं हि दृश्यते लोके—य उदात्ते कर्तव्येन्द्रुदात्तं करोति खण्डकोपाध्यायस्तस्मै
चपेत् ददाति अन्यत् त्वं करोष्यति

For thus is seen in the world—him who mispronounces
anudātta for *udātta*, the teacher of pupils who learn
section by section of a work gives him a blow with open
hand saying that you are mispronouncing.

अस्ति प्रबोधनमेतत् —

There is this benefit, but —

कि तर्हीति !

Then what is suggested by *but* ?

भेदकत्वाद्गुणस्य

Bhēdakatvād gūṇasya.

मेदकत्वाद्गुणस्येति वचनम्

It should be said *bhēdakatvād gunasya* (*i.e.*) *svarasya* in the previous *vārttika* should be replaced by *gunasya*.

किं प्रयोगनम्?

What is the use?

आनुनासिक्यं नाम गुणः, तद्विज्ञाप्तिं ग्रहणं व्याप्ति स्यात्

Nasalisation is a *guna*; so that it may apply to that differentiated by it.

किं च कारणं न स्यात्?

Why should it not refer?

मेदकत्वाद्गुणस्य—मेदका गुणः

On account of the differentiating capacity of *guna*. *Gunas* are differentiating elements.

कथं पुनर्जायते मेदका गुणा इति?

How is it known that *gunas* are *bhēdakas*?

एव हि दृश्यते लोके—एकोऽयमात्मा उदके नाम, तस्य गुणभेदात् अन्यत्र भवति, अन्यदिदं शीतन् अन्यदिदमुष्णम् इति

For thus is seen in the world. The one object—water—becomes different with different qualities—this is cool and this is hot.

ननु च मोः, अभेदका अपि गुणा दृश्यन्ते, तद्वया देवदत्तो मुण्डापि नश्यति शिर्ष्यपि स्वमास्त्वां न जहाति, तथा बालो युवा वृद्धो वत्सो दम्यो वलीवद्दे इति

Oh! there are *gunas* which do not sometimes differentiate. For instance as *Dēvadatta*, is not bereft of his name

whether his head is completely shaven, full of clotted hair or has tuft, so also an ox is not bereft of its name whether it is young, middle-aged, old, a calf or a tamed animal.

उभयमिदं गुणेषूलम् भेदका अभेदका इति । किं पुनरल न्यायम् ?

Here both have been said with reference to *gunas* that they are *bhedaka* and *abheda*. Which is right here ?

अभेदका गुणा इत्येवं न्यायम्

It is right to take that *gunas* are *abheda*.

कृत एतत् ! Why is it ?

यदयं अस्तिदधिसङ्कल्प्यत्थामनहुनाचः इत्युदातप्रहणं करोति, तज्जापयत्याचार्योऽभेदका गुणा इति । यदि हि भेदका गुणाः स्युः उदात्तमेवोच्चारयेत्

Since the *Acārya* mentions the word *udātta* in the *sūtra* *nsti*..., he indicates that *gunas* are *abheda*kas. If *gunas* are *bhedakas*, he would have pronounced the words with *udātta* accent.

यदि तर्हि अभेदका गुणा अनुदात्तादेवन्तोदाचाच यदुच्यते तत्स्वर्तिदेवः स्वरितान्ताच शास्त्रोति

If, then, *gunas* are *abheda*kas, that which is said for a word which has its first syllable *anudātta*, or its last syllable *udātta*, will be applied to a word which has its first syllable *svarita* or the last syllable *swarita*.

नैष दोषः आर्थ्यमाणो गुणो भेदको भवति, तत्था शुक्लमालभेत् कृष्णमालभेत्, नत्र वः शुक्ल आलब्धव्ये कृष्णमालभेत् त हि तेन यथोक्तं कृतं भवति

This is no defect. The *guna* that is specifically mentioned along with the object serves as a differentiating element. For instance when it is said 'Tie to the stake the white', 'Tie to the stake the black', if one ties the black when the white has to be tied, he has not done as is ordained.

असंदेहार्थस्तहि तकारः । ऐजित्युच्यमाने सन्देहः स्वातः, किमिमावैचावेष
आहोस्मिन् आकारोऽप्यत्र निर्दिश्यत इति

Takāra is then to avoid the doubt. If *āic* alone is read, there is the doubt, whether the *pratyāhāra* *āic* alone is referred to here or *ā* also.

सन्देहमात्रमेतद्भवति । सर्वसन्देहेषु चेदसुपतिष्ठते व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रति-
पत्तिर्न हि सन्देहादलक्षणम् इति । त्रयाणां ग्रहणमिति व्याख्यास्यामः । अन्यत्रापि
ख्यमेवंजातीयकेषु सन्देहेषु न कंचिद्बलं करोति, तथा औतोऽमशसोः इति

There is this doubt alone. In all cases of doubt we take recourse to this that detailed knowledge arises from the commentary and hence doubt does not enable the *sāstra* to be neglected. We comment that *āic* refers to all the three. He has not made any attempt in similar cases of doubt (to remove the same), *viz.* *ādolmśasōḥ*.

इदन्तहि प्रयोजनम् * आन्तर्यत्तिलिमात्रचतुर्मात्राणां स्थानिनां त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्रां
आदेशा मा भूवन् इति, खट्टा इन्द्रः, खट्टा उदकं खट्टोदकं, खट्टा ईपा खट्टोपा,
खट्टा ऊडा खट्टोडा, खट्टा एलका खट्टौलका, खट्टा ओदनः खट्टौदनः, खट्टा ऐतिकावनः
खट्टौतिकावनः, खट्टा औपगवः खट्टौपगव इति

This is the benefit—*ādeśas* of three and four *mātrās* may not, by the principle of similarity, replace *sthānin* with three or four *mātrās* in the following:—खट्टा इन्द्रः . . . खट्टौपगवः.

अथ कियमाणेऽपि तकारे कमादेव त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्राणां स्थानिनां त्रिमात्र-
चतुर्मात्रा आदेशा न भवन्ति!

Even when *takāra* is read, how cannot *ādeśas* of three and four *mātrās* replace *sthānin* with three and four *mātrās*?

* It should be understood that न is not for अ but for एव.

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तपरस्तकालस्य इति नियमात्

By the *sūtra-taparustatkālasya*.

ननु तः परः यस्मात्सोऽयं तपरः ?

Is not *tapara* a *bahuvrīhi* compound ?

नेत्याह, तादपि परः तपरः

No, says he ; it is also a *latpuruṣa* compound.

यदि तादपि परस्तपरः अहोरप् इतीहैव स्यात् यवः स्तवः, लवः पवः
इत्यत्र न स्यात्

If it is taken as a *latpuruṣa* compound, the *sūtra* अहोरप्
will operate only with respect to यवः and स्तवः and not
with respect to लवः and पवः.

नेप तकारः

This is not *takāra*.

कल्पत्वा ? What then ?

दकारः *Dakāra*.

कि दकारे प्रयोजनम् ?

What is the use in reading *dakāra* ?

अथ कि तकारे ! यद्यसंदेहार्थस्तकारः दकारोऽपि, अथ मुखसुखार्थस्तकारः
दकारोऽपि

What is it in reading *takāra* ? If it is to avoid the doubt,
dakāra also serves the same purpose; if it is for euphony,
dakāra also is for the same.

इको गुणवृद्धी.

Eight topics are dealt with in this *sūtra*:—(1) the need for *ikāḥ* in this *sūtra* (2) the need for the *anuvṛtti* of the words *guṇa* and *vrddhi* from the previous *sūtras* (3) whether this *sūtra* and *alōñiyasya* have the relationship of *śeṣaśeṣīlva* (4) whether this *sūtra* and *alōñiyasya* are in the relationship of *utsargāpavāda* (5) whether this *sūtra* and *alōñiyasya* are not at all connected with each other (6) wherever *guṇa* or *vrddhi* is enjoined, the word *ikāḥ* appears there (7) what will be the harm if the word *vrddhi* is not in this *sūtra*? (8) whether this *sūtra* is a *vihī-sūtra* or a *paribhāṣā*.

I

इमहणं किमर्थम्?

What is the need for the word इक् (in this *sūtra*)?

इमहणं आत्मन्द्यक्षरव्यञ्जननिवृत्त्यर्थम्

The use of इक् is to ward off *guṇa* to ā, diphthongs and consonants.

इमहणं कियते । कि प्रयोजतम् ! आकारनिवृत्त्यर्थं सन्व्यक्षरनिवृत्त्यर्थं व्यञ्जननिवृत्त्यर्थं च । आकारनिवृत्त्यर्थं तावत्, वाता वाता, आकारस्य गुणः प्राप्नोति, इमहणात् भवति । सन्व्यक्षरनिवृत्त्यर्थम्, म्लायति मूलयति, सन्व्यक्षरस्य गुणः प्राप्नोति, इमहणात् भवति । व्यञ्जननिवृत्त्यर्थम्, उभिता उभितुम् उभितव्यं, व्यञ्जनस्य गुणः प्राप्नोति, इमहणात् भवति

The word इक् is used. What for? To ward off *guṇa* (*a*) in the place of ā, diphthongs and consonants. First as regards the warding off ā from being *sthānin* of *guṇa*, *guṇa* may replace ā by the *sūtra* (*sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayōḥ*) while the words *yātā* and *vātā* are formed; it does not take place on account of the use of इक्. As regards diphthongs, *guṇa* (*ai*) may replace āi while the words *glāyati* and *mīlāyati* are formed; it does not take place on account of the

use of इक्. As regards consonants, *guṇa* (*a*) may replace consonants while the words *umbhitā*, *umbhitum*, and *umbhitavyam* are formed; it does not take place on account of the use of इक्.

आकारनिवृत्त्यर्थेन तावलार्थः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिज्ञापयति नाकारस्य गुणे
मवर्तीति, यद्यम् आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः इति ककारमनुबन्धं करोति

First it is not to ward off *guṇa* to ā. Ācārya's use suggests that *guṇa* does not replace ā, since he uses the *anubandha* 'k' in the *sūtra*—*ātōnupasargī kah*.

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम्?

In what manner should it be understood so that it may be taken as *jñāpaka*?

कित्करणे एतत्त्वोजनं विडतीत्याकारलोपे यथा स्यात्; यदि चाकारस्य
गुणः स्यात् कित्करणमनर्थक स्यात्, गुणे कृते द्रव्योरकारयोः परस्परेण सिद्धं रूपं
स्याद् गोदः कम्बलद इति; पश्यति तु आचार्यो नाकारस्य गुणो मवर्तीति,
ततः ककारमनुबन्धं करोति

This is the benefit of *kitkaraya*, that ā may be elided by the *sūtra* कित्ति�...; if *guṇa* can replace ā, *kitkaraya* will be of no use; for, in the formation of the word *gōdāḥ*, *go-dā-a* will become *gō-da-a* if *guṇa* replaces ā, and then *gō-d-a* if *parariipa* comes (by the *sūtra* * *atō guṇē*). So also is *kambalada*. But Ācārya sees with his mind's eye that *guṇa* does not replace ā and hence uses the *anubandha* 'k'.

सन्ध्यक्षरनिवृत्त्यर्थेनापि नार्थः; उपदेशसामर्थ्यात् सन्ध्यक्षरस्य गुणो न
मविष्यति

It is not also to ward off *guṇa* to diphthongs since *guṇa* cannot replace a diphthong on account of the significance of their being read separately.

व्यञ्जननिवृत्त्यर्थेनापि नाथः; आचार्येष्वृत्तिर्जापियति न व्यञ्जनस्य गुणो
भवतीति यदयं जनेर्द शास्ति

It is not also to ward off *guṇa* to consonants since the use of *dit* by Ācārya in the *sūtra* **soptāmyām janēr̥ dah* suggests that *guṇa* does not replace a consonant.

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकं?

In what manner should it be understood so that it may be taken as *jñāpaka*?

डिकरणे प्रत्ययोजनं, डिति इति टिलोपो वथा स्यात्। यदि च व्यञ्ज-
नस्य गुणः स्याद् डिकरणमनर्थकं स्यात्, गुणे कुते लयाणामकाराणां
परस्रूपेण सिद्धं रूपं स्यात् उपसरजो मन्दुरज इति। पद्यति त्वाचार्यो न
व्यञ्जनस्य गुणो भवतीति, ततो जनेर्द शास्ति

The use of *dit-karana* is that the final syllable may be dropped if it is followed by a *dit*. If consonant were to be replaced by *guṇa*, *dit-karana* will be of no use; for after *guṇa* replaces the consonant, the forms *upasarajah* and *mandurajah** will be got by applying the *sūtra* dealing with *pararūpa* twice. But Ācārya sees with his mind's eye that *guṇa* does not replace a consonant and hence uses *dit* in the *sūtra* **soptāmyām janēr̥ dah*'

नेतानि सन्ति ज्ञापकानि। यत्तावदुच्यते किन्तरणं ज्ञापकं नाकारस्य
गुणो भवतीति, उत्तरार्थमेतत्स्यात् तुन्दशोक्तयोः परिमृजापतुदोः इति

These are not *jñāpakas*. What was first put forth that *kit-karana* in *ātōnupusurgē kah* suggests that *guṇa* does

* *mandura - jan - a* : *mandura - ja - a* : *manduraja*

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not replace *ā* does not stand; for it is useful in the interpretation of the *sūtra* 'tundusōkayōḥ parimrjāpanudōḥ,'*

यत्तहि गापोष्टक् इत्यनन्यार्थं ककारमनुवन्धं करोति

If so, *kikkarana* in the *sūtra* 'gāpōṣṭak' serving no other purpose suggests it,

अदप्युच्यते उपदेशसामर्थ्यात् सन्वलनस्य गुणो न भवतीति, यदि यदत्सन्ध्य-
कारस्य प्राप्नोति तत्तुपदेशसामर्थ्याद्वाच्यते, आयादयोऽपि तहिं न प्राप्नुवन्ति

The other point that was put forth that *guṇa* cannot replace a diphthong on account of the significance of their separate *upadēśa*, if acceded, will lead to this:— whatever takes places to diphthongs, it will be warded off by the separate *upadēśa* and hence (the *adīśa*) *āy* etc. cannot function.

नैष दोषः; यं विधि प्रत्युपदेशोऽर्जन्त्यकः स विधिर्बाध्यते, यस्य तु विधेनिमित्तमेव
तामां बाध्यते, गुणं च प्रत्युपदेशोऽर्जन्त्यकः आयादीनां पुरानिमित्तमेव

This (objection) cannot stand; for the *vidhi* in respect of which *upadēśa* is of no use is warded off and that in respect of which it is only *nimitta*, it is not warded off; in respect of *guṇa*, it is of no use and in respect of *āy* etc., it is only *nimitta*.

यदप्युच्यते जनेऽवचने ज्ञापके न व्यज्ञनस्य गुणो भवतीति, सिद्धे विधिर-
स्यमाणो ज्ञापकार्ये भवति, न च जनेर्गुणेन सिद्ध्यति। तुतो षेषत् जनेर्गुण
उच्यमानोऽकारो भवति न पुनरेकारो वा स्थादेकारो वेति!

The third point that *dit* in *janēr dahi* suggests that *guṇa* does not replace consonant does not stand; for a *vidhi*, only

* It is useful to prevent *guṇa* in the words *tundoparimrijah* and *ekipanudah*.

when it is proved to be of no use, is taken to be *jñāpatra* and the desired form is not obtained by replacing *n* in *jan* by *guṇa*. How is it that, when it is taken that *guṇa* replaces *n* in *jan*, it should be only *a* and not *ī* or *ō*?

आन्तर्यंतोऽर्धमात्रिकस्य व्यञ्जनस्य मात्रिकोऽकारो मविष्यति

By closer similarity the consonant having half a *mātrā* is replaced by *a* which has one *mātrā*.

एवमप्यनुनासिकः प्राप्नोति

If so, the nasalised *a* may come.

परत्रपेण शुद्धो मविष्यति

It becomes non-nasalised by *para-rūpa* (since the *n* that follows it is a non-nasalised one.)

एवं तहि गमेत्यप्य दो वक्तव्यः, गमेत्वा गुण उच्चमात्र आन्तर्यतः ओकारः
प्राप्नोति । तस्मादिनभृणं कर्तव्यम्

If so, this *dit* should be read for *gom* also; * for if it is said that *guṇa* replaces *m* in *gam*, *ō* will replace it by closer similarity †. Hence *ik* should be read in this *sūtra*.

From the foregoing part it may be clear that, according to the *pūrvapakṣa*, *ikah* need not be read here and so the two *sūtras*—*ikō guṇavṛddhi* and *na dhātulōpa ārdhadhātuki* may be read together. The *siddhānta* says that the word *ikah* is needed here to prevent *ō* replacing *m* in *gam* and hence *ikō guṇavṛddhi* should be read as a separate *sūtra*.

* After the *sūtra*—*anugrahyam janār dāh* (III, 2, 97), the *sūtra* *anyatapi dīyate* (III 2, 10) is read. If the root *gam* is taken under the word *anya*, this answer holds good.

† Similarity referred to here is that both are labials.

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II

यदि इमहणं कियते थौः, पन्थाः, सः, इमम् इत्येतेऽपि इकः प्रामुचन्ति

If the word इकः is read in the *sūtra*, āu etc. (enjoined by the *sūtras* दिव औत्, पथिमच्यूसुशामात्, त्वदादीनामः) to form the words थौः, पन्थाः, सः, इमम् will replace only इकः.*

संज्ञया विधाने नियमः

Restriction on the injunction with the *saṃjñā*.

संज्ञया ये विधीयन्ते तेषु नियमः

Only those which are enjoined with the appellation *guna* or *vṛddhi* come under this *sūtra*.

कि वक्तव्यमेतत् ?

Is there any need for this to be said?

न हि

No, certainly not.

कथमनुच्यमानं गंभयते ?

How can it be understood if it is not so said?

गुणवृद्धिग्रहणसामर्थ्यान्

On account of the significance of having read *gunavṛddhi* in this *sūtra*.

कथं पुनरन्तरेण गुणवृद्धिग्रहणम् इको गुणवृद्धी स्याताम् ?

How then can *guna* and *vṛddhi* replace इकः if the expression *gunavṛddhi* is not read here?

* Since इ, आ and ओ are either *vṛddhi* or *guna* letter, this *pūrvapakṣa* arose.

प्रकृते गुणवृद्धिभृणमनुवर्तते

The expression *gunavrddhi* mentioned before is supplied here.

क प्रकृतम् ! *

Where is it mentioned before ?

वृद्धिरादैजदेहगुण इति

In the *sūtras*—*vṛddhirādāic* and *adēñ gunah*.

वदि तदनुवर्तते अदेहगुणो वृद्धिश्च इत्यदेह वृद्धिसंज्ञापि प्रामोति

If it (*vṛddhiḥ*) follows from the first *sūtra*, the second *sūtra* will have to be read as अदेहगुणो वृद्धिश्च so that *a*, *i* and *o* will get the appellation *vṛddhi* also.†

संवन्धमनुवर्तिष्यते । वृद्धिरादैत्र, अदेहगुणः वृद्धिरादैत्र, तत इको गुणवृद्धि इति, गुणवृद्धिभृणमनुवर्तते, आदैजदेहभृणं निवृत्तम्

Connected element ‡ follows thus—*vṛddhirādāic*, *adēñ gunah vṛddhirādāic*, *ikō gunavrddhi*. Then the expression *gunavrddhi* is supplied and the expression *ādāijadēñ* is made to recede.

अथवा मण्डकगतयोऽधिकाराः, यथा मण्डका उल्लुत्योल्लुत्य गच्छन्ति, तद्वदधिकाराः

Or *anuvṛttis* are like frog-leap. As frogs skip over intermediate things, so are *adhikāras*. §

* The objection raised here is that, tho' *vṛddhiḥ* and *gunah* have been already mentioned, the compound *gunavrddhi* has not been mentioned.

† This statement is based on the assumption that a word in the first *sūtra* cannot be supplied in the third unless it is taken to follow in the second.

‡ *vṛddhi* connected with its *samjñin* is taken to follow.

§ This suggests that the word *vṛddhi* may be made to follow in the third *sūtra* without passing through the second.

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अथवा एक्योगः करिष्यते वृद्धिरदैजंदेहसुणः, तत् इको गुणवृद्धी इति,
न तक्योगेज्ञुवृत्तिर्मवति

On the first two *sūtras* are made into one as *vrddhi-rādāij-
adī, gunah*. Then is read *ikō gunavrddhī*. There is no
anucetti within one and the same *sūtra*.

अथवा अन्यवचतात् चकाराकरणाच्च प्रकृतापवादो विज्ञायते, यथोत्सर्गेण
प्रसक्तस्यापवादो बाधको मवति

Or on account of giving another *saṁjñā* and the absence of
or, it is understood to be an exception to what has been said
before, in the same way as a special rule prevents the applica-
tion of a general rule.

अन्यस्याः संजायाः वचनात् चकारस्य चानुकर्षणाथस्य अकरणात् प्रकृताया
वृद्धिसंजाया गुणसंज्ञा बाधिका भविष्यति, यथोत्सर्गेण प्रसक्तस्यापवादो बाधको
मवति*

Since another appellation is given, and since the word *or*
which denotes grammatical attraction is not read, *guna-saṁjñā*
sets aside the *vrddhi-saṁjñā* mentioned first, in the same
way as a special rule sets aside what will, otherwise, happen
by the general rule.

अथवा वक्ष्यत्येतत् अनुवर्त्तने च नाम विधयः, न चानुवर्त्तनादेव मवन्ति। किं
तर्दि! † अलाद्यवन्ति इति

Or he is going to say this—that, though rules have the capacity
to be supplied later on, they do not do so only on account of
it. By what then? By the effort.

* This is the *śivaratnabhāṣya* to the previous one.

† Cf. अकर्तव्यात्वविद्यापुनर्गुणवृद्धियहणं यज्ञः (*Uddyoga*).

नथवा उभये निवृत्तम्, तदपेक्षिष्यामहे

Or both* are not taken by *anuvṛtti*, but we take them by *uhyādhāra*.

It may be noted here that the *anuvṛtti* of the words *vrddhi* and *guṇa* is dealt with in seven ways. First the word *vrddhi* is taken to the third *sūtra* through the second. The objection raised therein was that *a*, *ī* & *ō* will get the appellation of *vrddhi* also. (2) It was met by the statement that the word *vrddhi* alone is not taken to the second, but *vrddhi* attached to *ādāic*. The defect here is how *ādāic* alone was made to recite. (3) Then the principle of 'Frog-leap' was applied. Recourse is taken to it only in cases where there is no other *go*. (4) Hence he wishes to take the *sūtras* one and two as one. It was so done on the idea that there will be no *anuvṛtti* in one and the same *sūtra*. But sometimes it is seen that there is *anuvṛtti* even in one and the same *sūtra*. (5) Hence he takes recourse to the point that the appellation *guṇa* serves as an *apavāda* to the appellation *vrddhi* to *a*, *ī* and *ō*. The defect here is this:—The *uddēśya* in the *apavādasūtra* is that which is otherwise qualified to be the *uddēśya* in the *utsargasūtra*. Here the *uddēśya* of the *utsarga* is *ādāic* and that of the *apavāda* is *adīn*. (6) Then he says that *yatna* and not *anuvṛtti* alone serves the purpose. Here the defect is this:—the expression *gauavrddhi* in the third *sūtra* suggests that the expression supplied from the previous two *sūtras* is *saṃjñāpary* and that suggests that this is *arthapara*. (7) Hence the author takes recourse to the practice found in the world that we take in only those that we want.

* Both refers to *guṇa* and *vrddhi*.

III & IV

किं पुनरेवमलोऽन्त्यशेषः, आहोऽस्मिदलोऽन्त्यापवादः?

Is this *sūtra alontyaśeṣa* or *alontyāpavāda*? (*i.e.*) Do this *sūtra* and the *sūtra* ‘*alontyasya*’ form a whole sentence, one serving as part of another or are they antagonistic to each other? *

कथं चायं तच्छेषः स्मात्, कथं वा तदपवादः?

How is this *sūtra tacchēṣa* † or how is it *tadapavāda*?

यद्यैकं वाक्यं—तच्च इदं च, अलोऽन्त्यस्य विधयो भवन्ति, इको गुणवृद्धी अलोऽन्त्यस्य इति—ततोऽयं तच्छेषः। अथ नाना वाक्यं—तच्च इदं च, अलोऽन्त्यस्य विधयो भवन्ति, इको गुणवृद्धी अन्त्यस्य नानन्त्यस्य च इति—ततोऽयं तदपवादः।

If they are one sentence—*vidhis* happen to the final *al* and the *guṇa* and *vrddhi* happen to the *ik* which is the final *al*—this *sūtra* is *tacchēṣa*. If they are different sentences—*vidhis* happen to the final *al* and *guṇa* and *vrddhi* happen to *ik* which is both final and non-final, it is *tadapavāda*.

कश्चात्र विशेषः :

What is the difference here?

वृद्धिगुणावलोऽन्त्यस्येति चेन्मिदिपृजिपुगन्तलवृपधर्त्तिदशिक्षिप्रक्षुद्रेष्विग्रहणम्

If *guṇa* and *vrddhi* are taken to happen to the final *al*, the word *ik* has to be read where *guṇa* or *vrddhi* is enjoined to *mid*, *mṛj*, *prugantolaghūpadha*, *rech*, *drś*, *kṣipra* and *kṣudra*.

* In the interpretation of the *sūtra sācchādātukātrībhādātukayōḥ* there is *anvaya* of *anguna* and *gunaḥ*. Since the former is in the genitive case, *alontyasya* appears on the scene. By the mention of the latter, *ik* also appears on the scene. Hence arises this doubt.

† The word *tacchēṣa* may be taken here as *bahuvrīhi* and *ta/guṇya*. *Sāca-sēśi-bhāva* is here *paricchedja-paricchedaka-bhāva*.

वृद्धिगुणावलोऽन्त्यस्येति चेत् मिदिमूजिपुगन्तलघूपधीच्छाशिक्षिप्रक्षुद्रेपित्तमहणं कर्तव्यम् । मिदेर्गुणः, इति वक्तव्यम्, अनन्त्यत्वाद्वि न प्राप्नोति; मूर्जेर्वद्विः, इति वक्तव्यम्, अनन्त्यत्वाद्वि न प्राप्नोति; पुगन्तलघूपधस्य गुणः, इति वक्तव्यम्, अनन्त्यत्वाद्वि न प्राप्नोति; क्रह्लोर्लिटि गुणः, इति वक्तव्यम्, अनन्त्यत्वाद्वि न प्राप्नोति; ऋदशोर्जडि गुणः, इति वक्तव्यम्, अनन्त्यत्वाद्वि न प्राप्नोति; खिप्रक्षुद्रयोर्गुणः, इति हति वक्तव्यम्, अनन्त्यत्वाद्वि न प्राप्नोति

If it is taken that *guna* and *vrddhi* happen only to the final *al*, the word *ik* has to be read where *guna* or *vrddhi* is enjoined to *mid*, *mrj*, *puguntalaghūpadha*, *rcch*, *drś*, *kṣipra* and *kṣudra*; *midēr gunah*, *ikah* should be added, for *i* cannot be replaced by *guna* since it is not final; *mrjērvyāddhih*, *ikah* should be added, for *r* cannot be replaced by *vrddhi* since it is not final; *puguntalaghūpadhasya gunah*, *ikah* should be added, for it cannot be replaced by *guna* since it is not final; *rccher li* *gunah*, *ikah* should be added: for *r* cannot be replaced by *guna* since it is not final; *drśōni gunah*, *ikah* should be added, for it cannot be replaced by *guna* since it is not final; *kṣipralkṣudratayōrgunah*, *ikah* should be added, for *i* or *u* cannot be replaced by *guna* since it is not final.

सर्वादेशप्रसङ्गश्चानिगन्तस्य

Possibility of *sarvādīśa* to the *aṅgas* which do not end in *ik*,

सर्वादेशश्च गुणोऽनिगन्तस्य प्राप्नोति, याता वाता

Guna will replace the whole if the *aṅga* does not end in *ik* as in *yātā*, *vātā*.

किं कारणम्? Why?

अलोऽन्त्यस्य इति पष्ठी चैव अन्त्यमिक्तुपसङ्कान्ता, अङ्गस्येति च स्थानपष्ठी । तद्यदिदानीमनिगन्तमङ्गं तस्य गुणः सर्वादेशः प्राप्नोति

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The genitive mentioned in *alōntyasya* goes with the final *ik*. The genitive in *aṅgasya* is *sthānaśaṣṭhī*. Hence if *guṇa* is enjoined to an *aṅga* which does not end in *ik*, it should replace the whole of it.

नेप दोषः, यथैव अलोऽन्त्यस्येति पर्वी अन्त्यमिक्षुप्रसंकान्ता एवमङ्गस्येत्यपि स्थानपर्षी, तद्विदानीमनिगन्तमङ्गं तत्र पष्ठयेव नास्ति, कुतो गुणः कुतः सर्वादेशः!

The objection does not stand; just as the genitive mentioned in *alōntyasya* goes with the final *ik*, so also is *sthānaśaṣṭhī* in *aṅgasya*; for there is no genitive in the *aṅga* which does not end in *ik*. Hence where is the possibility of *guṇa* or *sarvādēśa*?

एवं तर्हि नायं दोषसमुच्चयः

If so, they are not two coordinate defects.

कि तर्हि? What then?

पूर्वपिक्षोऽयं दोषः; यथै चायं चः पठितः। मिदिमुजिपुरान्तङ्गवृपधन्त्तु-
दशिक्षिप्रभुद्विविधहणं सर्वादेशप्रसङ्गो लग्निगन्तस्येति

The second is subordinate to the first; the word *ca* is read in the sense of *hi*. *Ik* should be read in the *sūtyas*—*midēr guṇah* etc; for the *aṅga* which does not end in *ik* will be wholly replaced by *ādēśa*.

सिदेगुणः, इक इति वचनादन्त्यस्य न, अलोऽन्त्यस्य इति वचनादिको न, उच्यते च गुणः, स सर्वादेशः प्राप्नोति, एवं सर्वत्र

The *sūtra*, ‘*midēr guṇah*’—by the *sūtra* ‘*ikō guṇavarddhī*’ *guna* does not replace the final; by the *sūtra* ‘*alōntyasya*’, it does not replace *ik*. But *guṇa* is enjoined and hence it should be a *sarvādēśa*. So also elsewhere.

अस्तु तदेह तदपवादः।

If so, let it be *tudapavāda*.

इच्चात्रस्येति चेत्तुमिसार्वधातुकार्थधातुकहस्तादोर्गुणेष्वनन्त्यप्रतिषेधः।

If it is for all *ik*, prohibition of *guṇa* to the *ik* that is not final enjoined by the *sūtra* ‘*jasi sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayōhruśvasya gunak*’ etc.

इच्चात्रस्येति चेत् तुमिसार्वधातुकार्थधातुकहस्तादोर्गुणेष्वनन्त्यप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः। तुमि गुणः, स यथेह भवति अगुहवुः अविभयुः इति, एवम् अनेनिजुः पर्येविषुः इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति। सार्वधातुकार्थधातुकयोर्गुणः, स यथेह भवति कर्ता हर्ता नयति तरति इति, एवम् ईहिता ईहित्तुम् ईहितत्त्वम् इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति। इत्तत्त्वं गुणः, स यथेह भवति हे अग्ने हे वायो इति, एवं हे अग्निचित् हे सोमसुद् इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति। जस्मि गुणः, स यथेह भवति अभयः वायवः इति, एवम् अग्निचितः सोमसुतः इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति। कर्तो डि सर्वनामस्थानयोर्गुणः, स यथेह भवति कर्तरि कर्तरौ कर्तारः इति, एवं सुकृति सुकृतौ सुकृतः इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति। घडिनिति गुणः, स यथेह गवति अभये वायवे इति, एवम् अग्निचिते सोमसुते इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति। ओर्गुणः, स यथेह भवति वाप्रव्यः माण्डव्यः इति, एवं सुश्रुत औश्रुतः इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति।

As *guṇa* occurs in *agniharuh*, *abibhavuh* etc. by the application of the *sūtra* ‘*jasi gunah*’ so also will it occur in *anēnijuh*, *paryavēdiguh* etc. As *guṇa* occurs in *kartā*, *hartā*, *nayati* and *tarati* by the application of the *sūtra* ‘*sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayōhruśvam*’, so also will it occur in *īhitā*, *īhitum* and *īhitavayam*. As *guna* occurs in *agnē*, *vāyō* by the application of the *sūtra* ‘*herasvasya gunah*’, so also will it occur in the vocatives *agniciti*, *sōmasut* etc. As *guṇa* occurs in *agnayah*, *vāyavah* etc. by the application of the *sūtra* ‘*jasi gunah*’, so also will it occur in *agnicitah*, *sōmasutah*, etc. As *guṇa* occurs in *kartari*, *kartārāu*, *kartārah* etc. by the application of the *sūtra* ‘*agniharuh*

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ui sarvanāmūsthānayōḥ gunāḥ, so also will it occur in *sukrti*, *sukrtāṇi* and *sukrtah*: As *guna* occurs in *bābhṛavyah*, *māṇḍaryah* etc., so also will it occur in *sāśrutiḥ* derived from *sāśruti*.

नैव दोषः

This objection cannot stand.

पुगन्तलघृपद्यग्रहणमनन्त्यनियमार्थम्

The expression *pugantulaghūpadha* is to restrict the cases of *ik* which are not final.

पुगन्तलघृपद्यग्रहणमनन्त्यनियमार्थं भविष्यति — पुगन्तलघृपद्यवानन्त्यस्य
नान्यस्यानन्त्यस्येति

The expression *pugantulaghūpadha* is to restrict (their application to *ik* which is not final) (*i. e.*) to restrict it only to such *anantya iks* as are *pugantulaghūpadha*.

प्रकृतस्यैव नियमः स्यात् *

The *niyama* will be only to that already mentioned.

किं च प्रकृतम्!

What is it that has been already mentioned?

सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोरिति । तेन भवेदिह नियमान्त्र स्याद् ईहिता ईहितुं
ईहितव्यम् इति, हस्याचोर्गुणस्त्वनिश्चतः सोऽनन्त्यस्मापि प्राप्नोति

The *sūtra* 'sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayōḥ'. Therefore prohibition of *guna* will occur by the *niyama* in the cases of *īhitā*, *īhitum* and *īhitavyam*; but not in the cases which come under the operation of the *sūtras* like *hrasvasya gunāḥ*; and hence the *guna* will occur there to *ik* which is not final also.

* प्रकृतस्यैव नियमः स्यात् is another reading.

अथाप्येवं नियमः स्तात् पुगन्तलघूपधस्य सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोरेवेति एवमपि सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोगुणोऽनियतः सोऽनन्त्यस्यापि प्राप्नोति इहिता, इहितुम्, इहितव्यम् इति

If the *niyama* is taken in this form that *guna* will occur to *pugantalaghūpadha* only when *sārvadhātuka* and *ārdhadhātuka* follow, the *guna* enjoined by the *sūtra* ‘*sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayōḥ*’ will become unrestricted, so that it will occur to *ananyatā ik* in *thitā*, *thitum* and *ihitaryam*.

अथाप्युभयतो नियमः स्तात् पुगन्तलघूपधस्यैव सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोः सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोरेव पुगन्तलघूपधस्य इति, एवमप्ययं जुसि गुणः अनियतः, सोऽनन्त्यस्यापि प्राप्नोति अनेनिजुः पर्यवेक्षिषुः इति

If the *niyama* is done both ways *pugantalaghūpadhasgaiśā* and *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayōḥ* and *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayōḥ* *pugantalaghūpadhasya*, even then the *guna* enjoined by *jisi gunuh* becomes *aniyata* so that *guna* will occur in *anenijuh*, *parjaneviśuḥ* etc.

एवं तहि तायं तच्छेषः नापि तदपवादः । बन्धदेवेदं परिभाषान्तरमसंबद्धमनवा परिभाषया

If so, this is neither *tacchēṣa* nor *tadapavāda*; but a different *paribhāṣā* not at all connected with it (*alōntyasya*.)

V

परिभाषान्तरमिति च मत्वा क्लेशीयाः पठन्ति—* नियमादिको गुणवृद्धी भवतो † विप्रतिषेधेन इति

* *Niyama* is the name to the *sūtra* ‘*alōntyasya*’ by the previous grammarians.

† It is worth while to see if there is another reading भवति.

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Thinking that it is another *paribhāṣā*, *kṛōṣṭrīyas* read that the *sūtra* 'ikō guṇavṛddhi' operates against *alōntyasya* by *pūrvavipratisēdha*.

यदि चायं तच्छेषः स्यात्, तेऽत तस्यादुक्तो विप्रतिषेधः; अथापि तदपवाद, उत्सर्गापवादयोरप्ययुक्तो विप्रतिषेधः। तत्र नियमस्यावकाशः राज्ञः क च राजकीयम्, इको गुणवृद्धी इत्यस्यान्वकाशः चयनं चायको लवनं लावकः इति। इहोभयं प्राप्नोति मेवति मार्णि इति, इको गुणवृद्धी इत्येतद्वति विप्रतिषेधेन

If it is *tacchēṣa*, there is no occasion for *vipratisēdha*, or if it is *ladaṇparādī*, then too there is no occasion for *vipratisēdha* between general rules and exceptions. Of them *alōntyasya* operates when the word *rājakīyam* is formed by the *sūtra* 'rājñāḥ ka ca' and *ikō guṇavṛddhi* operates when the words *cayanam*, *cāyakāḥ*, *lavanum*, *lāvakaḥ* etc. are formed, while the words *mēḍyati* and *mārcṣi* are formed, both begin to operate; but *ikōguṇavṛddhi* operates prohibiting the latter.

नैष युक्तो विप्रतिषेधः, विप्रतिषेधे परम् इत्युच्चते, पूर्वशायं योगः, परो नियमः

This *vipratisēdha* is not proper; for it is said that, in conflict between two rules, the latter prohibits the former and this *sūtra* is the former and *alōntyasya* is the latter.

इष्टवाची परशब्दः, विप्रतिषेधे परं यदिष्टं तद्वति इति

The word *para* means the *needed one*. In conflict, that which is needed operates.

एवमप्ययुक्तो विप्रतिषेधः, द्विकार्ययोगो हि विप्रतिषेधः, न चात्रैको द्विकार्ययुक्तः।

* It means the conflict between two *sūtras* where the former prohibits the latter.

Even then the *vipratisēdha* is not proper; for there is occasion for *vipratisēdha* only if one thing is to be operated upon by two *sūtras* and here there is none which is to be operated by two.

नावश्यं द्विकार्ययोग एव विप्रतिपेषः

Vipratisēdha does not invariably occur when one alone is to be operated by two.

कि तहि? What then?

असम्भवोऽपि; स चास्त्यत्रासंभवः

Non-happening too; that *asambhava* is found here.

कोऽसावसम्भवः?

What is that *asambhava*?

इह तावद् वृक्षेभ्यः पृक्षेभ्यः इति एक स्थानी द्रावादेशौ, न चास्ति सम्भवः यदेकस्य स्थानिनो द्रावादेशौ स्थाताम्; इहेदानी मेघति मेघतः मेघनिति इति द्वौ स्थानिनौ एक आदेशः, न चास्ति संभवः यत द्रव्यो स्थानिनोरेक आदेशः स्थात् इति; एषः असंभवः, सत्येतस्मिन्नसंभवे युक्तो विप्रतिपेषः;

At first in the examples *vrksēbhyaḥ*, *plaksēbhyaḥ* there is one *sthānī* and two *ādēśas* and it cannot be that one *sthānī* has two *ādēśas*; on the other hand, in the examples *mēlyati*, *mēdyataḥ*, *mēdyanti* there are two *sthānīns* and one *ādēśa* and it cannot be that two *sthānīns* can have one *ādēśa*; this is *asambhava* and when there is this *asambhava*, *vipratisēdha* can fit in.

एवमप्ययुक्तो विप्रतिपेषः, द्रव्योर्हं सावकाशयोः समवस्थितयोर्विप्रतिपेषो भवति, अनवकाशश्चायं योगः

Even then *vipratisēdha* cannot fit in; for there is opportunity for *vipratisēdha* only when the two *sūtras* have room to operate elsewhere; and this *sūtra* has nowhere else to operate.

ननु च इदानीमेवास्यावकाशः पक्षुमः चयनं चायको लवनं लावक इति !

Is it not then that its operation is settled in the cases of *cayanam*, *cāgukah*, *lavanum*, and *lāvukah* etc.?

अत्रापि नियमः प्राप्नोति

Even here 'alōnyasya' begins to operate.

नाप्राप्ते नियमेऽयं योग आरम्भते

This *sūtra* is read when 'alōnyasya' invariably begins to operate.

यावता च नाप्राप्ते नियमेऽयं योग आरम्भते, ततस्तस्य अपवादोऽयं योगो नवति । उत्सर्गप्रवादयोश्च अखुत्को विप्रतिषेधः

If, then, this *sūtra* is read when alōnyasya begins to operate, this becomes its *apavāda* and there is no *vipratisēdha* between *utsarga* and *apavāda*.

अथापि कथंचिद् इको गुणवृद्धी इत्यस्यावकाशः स्यात्, एवमपि यथेह विप्रतिषेधादिको गुणो भवति मेद्यति मेद्यतः मेद्यन्ति इति, एवमिहापि स्यात् अनेनिजुः पर्यवेक्षिणुः इति

Even if, with difficulty, room is found for *ikō gunavṛddhī* to operate, *guna* will occur by *vipratisēdha* in *anēnijuh*, *paryavēkṣiṇuh* in the same way as it occurs in *mēdyati*, *mēdyataḥ*, *mēdyanti* etc.

VI

यत्र तर्हि वृद्धिर्भवति गुणो भवति इति यत्र ब्रूयात् इक इत्येतत्त्रोपस्थितं
प्रपञ्चम्

If so, whenever it is said that *vrddhi* occurs, and *guna* occurs, one should understand that the word *ikah* presents itself.

किं कृतं भवति?

What happens then?

द्वितीया पष्ठी प्रादुर्भाव्यते । तत्र कामचारः गुणमाणेन वेकं विशेषयितुम्
इका वा गुणमाणम् । यावता कामचारः, इह तावन्मिदमुजिपुगन्तलवूपधर्चित्तद्विदि-
क्षिप्रद्वृद्धेयु गुणमाणेनकं विशेषयिष्यामः एतेषां य इक् इति; इहेतानीं जुनि-
सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकहत्वाद्योगुणेष्विका गुणमाणं विशेषयिष्यामः, एतेषां गुणो भवति
इकः इगन्तानाम् इति

Another word in the genitive case appears. It is our pleasure to take it as an adjunct to the already existing word in the genitive case or to take the latter qualifying *ikah*. Since it is our pleasure, we take the word in the genitive case to qualify *ikah* in the case of *midimrjipuganta-laghūpadharccidrśikṣiprakṣudra*, and in the case of *jiss-sārendhātukārdhadhātukahruseādi* we allow the word, to be qualified by *ikuh*—*guna* replaces these which are *iganta*.

Having dealt with the six topics, *Mahābhāṣyakāra* tries in a way to meet the objections raised in the *tacchēṣapakṣu*.

अथवा सर्वत्रैवात् स्थानी निर्दिश्यते । इह तावन्मिदेरित्यविभक्तिको
निर्देशः—मिद् एः मिदेरिति; अथवा पष्ठीसमासो भविष्यति—मिद् इः मिदि;
मिदेरिति । पुगन्तलवूपधर्म्येति, नैव विजायते पुगन्ताङ्गस्य लघूपधर्म्यं नेति; कृतं
तर्हि? पुकिं अन्तः पुगन्तः, लघ्वी उपधा लघूपधा, पुगन्तश्च लघूपधा च

पुगन्तलघूपरं पुगन्तलघूपरान्येति । अवश्यं चैतदेवं विज्ञेयम् जज्ञविशेषणे सर्तीह
प्रसङ्गेत भिनति छिनति इति । क्वच्छ्वरपि प्रक्षिप्तनिर्देवोऽयम् ऋक्ष्लङ्घति क्व क्व
ऋताम् क्वच्छत्यृतामिति । देशरपि योगविभागः करिष्यते उराडि गुणः उः अडि
गुणो भवति, ततो देशः, देशेश अडि गुणो भवति, उरिस्येत्, क्षिप्रक्षुद्रवोगपि
यज्ञादिपरं गुणः इतीवता सिद्धम् । सोऽयमेवं सिद्धे सति वत्पूर्वभ्रहणं करोति
तन्यैतत्त्वयोजनम् इको यथा स्वादनिको मा भूदिति

Or in all these places *sthāni* is mentioned. First in the *sūtra-midēr gunah* the word *midēh* is made up of two words *mid* and *ih* where *mid* is in the genitive case without the case-suffix; or it is the genitive of *midhi* which is a *sāsthānatpuruṣa*. The *sūtra-pugantalaghūpadhasya* is not interpreted as *pugantānqusa* and *laghūpadhaya*. How then? it is taken as the genitive of *pugantalaghūpadham* which is a *duandha* compound made up of *pugantah* and *laghūpadhā* which are respectively split as *paki antah* and *laghvī upadhā*. This needs be said; for, otherwise *guṇa* will appear in the words *bhinatti* and *chinatti*. In the *sūtra-rechatyrtam* *r* is separately mentioned so that it may be split as *rechati*, *r*, *r*, *rtam*. As regards *rdrsōñi gunah*, it is split into two *sūtras*, *urasi gunah* and *drśah*, so that *gunah* replaces *r* when it is followed by *an* and *gunah* replaces *r* of *drś* when it is followed by *an*. With respect to *kṣiprakṣutra*, since, though the desired object is won by reading the word *gunah* after the word *yajñādiparam* in the *sūtra*—*sthāla-dūra-*
yajna-brava-kṣipra-kṣudrānām yajñādiparam pūrvasya en *gunah*, he needs the word *pūrva*, it has this *pryojana* that *gunah* replaces *ik* and does not replace *anik*. Hence it must be noted that nothing has been said about *mṛjīvṛddhīḥ* and the *sūtra*—*rdrsōñi gunah* is split in a different order. Hence this topic is intended only to serve as a supplementary discussion to try whether *tacchēśapakṣa* can stand.

अथ वृद्धिभ्रहणं किमर्थम् !

What is the need of the word *vrddhi* in the *sūtra* ?

किं विशेषणं वृद्धिभ्रहणं चोचते न पुनर्गुणभ्रहणमपि ! यदि किंचिद् गुणभ्रहणस्य प्रयोजनमस्ति वृद्धिभ्रहणत्यापि तद्वितुमर्हति । को वा विशेषः ?

Why is the mention of the word *vrddhi* particularly objected and not that of *guṇa*. If there is any use in the mention of *guṇa*, the same holds good for *vrddhi*. What is the speciality here ?

अयमस्ति विशेषः — गुणविधौ न कचित् स्यानी निर्दिश्यते, तत्रावद्यं स्यानिनिर्देशार्थं गुणभ्रहणं कर्तव्यम् ; वृद्धिविधौ उतः सर्वत्रैव स्यानी निर्दिश्यते — अत्रो ज्ञाति, अत उपधायाः, तद्वितेष्वचामादेः — इति

There is this speciality that nowhere is *sthānīm* mentioned in *sūtras* where *guṇa* is enjoined and hence there is the need for the mention of the word *guṇa* to determine the *sthānīm* and that, on the other hand, everywhere is *sthānīm* mentioned in *sūtras* where *vrddhi* is enjoined viz. *acō nṛiti, aia npuṣhāyāḥ, taddhitēṣvācām ādāḥ*.

अत उत्तरं पठति

Hence he gives the reply.

वृद्धिभ्रहणमुत्तरार्थम्

The use of *vrddhi* is for what follows.

वृद्धिभ्रहणम् कियते ; किमर्थम् !

The word *vrddhi* is used. What for ?

उत्तरार्थम् *

For what follows.

किञ्चति प्रतिपेदं वद्यनि स वृद्धेनपि यथा स्यात्

So that the prohibition which he is going to enjoin when the following *pratyaya* is *kit* or *nit* may apply to *vrddhi* also.

कथेदानी किञ्चत्प्रत्ययेषु वृद्धेः प्रसङ्गः, यावता ज्ञितीत्युल्लयते?

Where is the possibility for *vrddhi* to appear when the *kit* and *nit pratyayas* follow, since it appears only when the *nit* and *nit pratyayas* follow?

† तत्र मूज्यर्थम्

That too is for the sake of *mrj*.

मृजेर्वृद्धिरविगोषेणोच्यते सा विडति मा भृत् सृष्टः मृष्टवान् इति

Vrddhi that is generally enjoined to *mrj* may not take place when it is followed by *kit pratyaya* and *nit pratyaya* as in the case of the words *mrstah* and *mrstavān*.

‡ इहार्थं चापि For here also,

इहार्थं चापि मूज्यर्थं वृद्धिग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । मृजेर्वृद्धिरविगोषेणोच्यते, सा इको यथा स्यात् अनिको १ मा भृत् इति

The word *vrddhi* should be read for the sake of this *sūtra* also to enable the formation of words from *mrj*, so that the *vrddhi* that is enjoined to *mrj* as a whole without specifying the part to be replaced by it, may replace *ik* and not an *anik*.

* Here *uttara* refers to the *sātra* 'कीटि च'

† *Tat* refers to the previous *vārttika*.

‡ *ihā* refers to the *sātra* 'इदं गुणवृद्धिः'

§ *anik* refers to the final consonant since *alontyasya* may operate.

मृज्यर्थमिति चेद्योगविभागात्सद्धम्

If it is for the sake of *mrj*, the end is achieved by *yoga vibhāga*.

मृज्यर्थमिति चेत् योगविभागः करिष्यते — मृजेवृद्धिरचः, ततः व्याप्तिः
निति णिति च वृद्धिर्भवति, अच इत्येव

If it is for the sake of *mrj*, the *sūtras* (*mrjēr vrddhīḥ* and *ueś n̄yati*) are split in a different way—*mrjēr vrddhiracah* and then *n̄yati*. *Vrddhi* appears when the following *pratyaya* is *ñit* or *ṇit* and it replaces only an *ac*.

यदचो वृद्धिरुच्यते, न्यमाद् अटोऽपि वृद्धिः प्राप्नोति

If *vrddhi* is said to replace *ac*, it may replace *aj* also in *nyamārj*.

अटि चौक्तम् *

It has been said in the case of *aj*.

किमुक्तम् ?

What has been said ?

अनन्त्यविकारे अनन्त्यसदेशस्य कार्यं भवति इति

If substitution comes to a non-final element, it will come to that which is nearer the final.

वृद्धिप्रतिषेधानुपपत्तिस्त्वयकरणात् (तस्मादिग्लक्षणा वृद्धिः)

In that case *vrddhi—protiṣedha* won't fit in and hence *vrddhi* should be enjoined with the term *ik*.

* I am not certain that this is a *mārtika* though it is found to be so in some editions.

वृद्धत्वं प्रतिपेदो नोपयते

The prohibition of *vrddhi* (in *mr̥ṣṭa* etc.) won't apply.

कि कारणम् ? Why ?

इक्षपकरणात् ; इलक्षणयोर्गुणवृद्धयोः प्रतिपेदः

(it is so) since the prohibition is only for that enjoined to इक्षः the prohibition is only to such *guna* and *vrddhi* as could replace an *ik*.

न चैव सति मृजेरिलक्षणा वृद्धिर्भवति

If so, *vrddhi* will not replace *ik* in *mr̥j*.

तसाम्नृजेरिलक्षणा वृद्धिरेपितन्वा

Hence we should try to get in *mr̥j*, the *vrddhi* enjoined with the term *ik*.

पूँ तर्हि, इहान्ये वैयाकरणा मृजेन्द्रादौ सङ्क्रमे * विभाषा वृद्धिमारमन्ते, परिमृजन्ति परिमार्जन्ति परिमृजन्तु परिमार्जन्तुः परिमार्जन्तुः इत्याद्यर्थम् ; तदिहापि साव्यष्ट, तस्मिन् साव्ये योगविभागः करिष्यते मृजेवृद्धिरस्त्वः भवति ; ततः अचि किङति, अजादौ च किङति सृजेवृद्धिर्भवति, परिमार्जन्ति परिमृजन्तु परिमृजन्तुः किमर्जभिन्दसः ? लियमार्जम्, अजादोवेव किङति नान्यत्र । कान्यत्र मा भृतः मृष्टः उष्टवान् इति । ततो चा, वा अचि किङति सृजेवृद्धिर्भवति परिमृजन्ति परिमार्जन्ति परिमृजन्तुः परिमार्जन्तुः इति

If so, other grammarians wish *vrddhi* optionally for *mr̥j* when it is followed by *kit* and *nit* viz. *parimr̥janti*, *parimārjanti*, *parimr̥jantu*, *parimārjantu*, *parimār̥jatih*, *parimār̥jatuh*. The same is wanted here also and hence the *sātra-split* is done in this way—'mr̥j-*vrddhiracah*' and then 'ai-

* *Saukhyam* is the *saukyā* of old grammarians denoting *ku* and *ni*.

kūti', which means that *mrj* takes *vrdhī* when it is followed by a *kit* or *nīt* beginning with a vowel. viz. *parimārjanti*, *parimārjantu*, *parimānārjatuh*. What is this for? For the sake of *niyama*, so that it takes place only in those places where *kit* or *nīt* begins with a vowel and not in other places. What are those places where it should not be? They are *mrṣṭah*, *mrṣṭavān*. Then the *sūtra* 'रा' is read, which means that *mrj* takes *vrdhī* optionally when it is followed by a *kit* or *nīt* beginning with a vowel, viz. *parimārjanti*, *parimārjanti*: *parimānārjatuh*, *parimānārjatuh*.

इहार्थमेव तर्हि सिजर्थं वृद्धिभ्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, सिचि वृद्धिरविशेषणोच्चते
सँको यथा स्यात् अनिको मा भूत् इति

If so *vrdhī* should be mentioned for the sake of this *sūtra* on behalf of *sic* so that the *vrdhī* that is enjoined before *sic* may replace an *ik* and not an *anik*.

कर्तव्य पुनरनिकः प्राप्नोति :

For which *anik* is there the possibility to be replaced by *vrdhī*? *

अकारस्य, अचिकीर्षितं अचिह्नीर्षितं

For *akāra*; viz. *asikīrṣit*, *ajikīrṣit*. *

नेतदस्ति, लोपोऽत्र वाथको भवति

No, the *lōpa* (enjoined by *otī lōpah*) prevents its operation.

आकारस्य तर्हि प्राप्नोति, अयासीत् अवासीत्

If so, there is that possibility for *ākāra* viz. *ayāsīt*, *avāsīt*.

* In *asikīrṣit*—it, *a* is dropped by *otī lōpah*.

LECTURES ON PATAÑJALI'S MAHĀBHĀSYA

नास्यत विशेषः, सत्या वृद्धावस्त्यां वा

Here is no difference whether there is *erddhi* or not.

सन्ध्यवाचरन्यं तर्हि प्राप्नोति

If so, there is that possibility for diphthongs,

नैव सन्ध्यवाचसमन्यमस्ति

There is no diphthong which is final.

ननु चेदमस्ति द्वलोपे कृते उदवोदम्, उदवोदाम्, उदवोद इति!

Or, here it is when ह् is elided viz. *udavōdham*, *udavōdham* *udavōdha*! -

नैतदमस्ति, असिद्धो द्वलोप, तस्यासिद्धत्वात् नैतदन्यं भवति

No, it is not; *dhalōpa* is taken to be non-existing; since it is *asiddha*, diphthong is not the final letter.

व्यञ्जनस्य तर्हि प्राप्नोति, अमैत्यीत, अच्छैत्यीत

If so, there is that possibility for consonants—*abhaītīt*, *nechātīt*.

इलन्तलक्षणं * वृद्धिर्वाधिका भविष्यति

Vṛddhi that is enjoined to the vowel of the *angas* that end in consonants prevents its operation.

सत्र तर्हि सा प्रतिपिघ्नते, नेटि इति अकोषीत् अमोषीत्

(What do you say) where it is prohibited by the *sūtra*—viz. *akōṣīt amōṣīt*?

* This means that which is enjoined to the vowel of the *angas* ends in a consonant by the *sūtra*—*वृद्धिर्वाधिलक्षणात्*.

सिचि वृद्धरप्येष प्रतिषेधः

This is the prohibitive rule also for the *sūtra* *sici vrddhiḥ*.

कथम्? How?

लब्धं हि नाम चनति, अस्ति, मुहूर्तेभ्यि नावतिष्ठते

For *yisṛdhā* suggests vaguely, wanders everywhere and does not stand still even for a moment.

अथवा सिचि वृद्धिः परस्मैपदेषु इति सिचि वृद्धिः प्राप्नोति, तस्य हलन्तलक्षणा वृद्धिर्विक्षा, तस्य अपि नेटि इति प्रतिषेधः

Or *vrddhi* before *sic* is enjoined by the *sūtra*—*sici vrddhiḥ parosmāipudēśu*: it has its *apavāda* in the *sūtra*—*vadavrajahalantasyājāk* and it has its *apavāda* in *nēti*.

अति पुनः कचिदन्यनापि अपवादे प्रतिषिद्धे उत्सर्गोऽपि न भवति।

Is there another place where the general rule does not operate when there is an exception to the exception?

अस्तीत्याह; सुजाते अधसून्ते, अच्ययो अद्रिभिः सुतम्, शुक्रे ते अन्यत् इति; पुर्वस्ये प्रतिषिद्धे अयादयोऽपि न मवन्ति

Yes, says he: viz. *sujaṭī aśeasūnṛī, adhvaryā-adribhīḥ sutam, śukram tē anyal*; here though *pūrvarūpa* is prohibited, the *ādēśas* *ay* etc. have not replaced *ā* etc.

उत्तरार्थमेव तहि सिजर्थं वृद्धिरप्यहणं कर्तव्यम्, सिचि वृद्धिरविशेषणोन्नते, मा किङति मा भृत, न्यसुवीत, न्याद्युवीत

If so, let the use of the word *vrddhi* be intended for the next *sūtra* to prohibit *vrddhi* enjoined by *sici vrddhiḥ*: *vrddhi* before *sic* is enjoined in general and let it not operate when it is followed by *kīl* or *āśi* viz. *nyasuvīt, nyādhyuviit*.

नेतदस्मि प्रयोजनम्, अनुरक्तत्वादत् उवङ्गेशो कृते अनन्तत्वाद् त्रिदिनं
भविष्यति

No, this is not the purpose to be served; for, after *uruñādīśa* which first operates by *antarāṅgaparibhāṣā*, there is no occasion for *vṛddhi* since the vowel is not the final element of the *aṅga*.

यदि तर्हि सिद्ध्यन्तरङ्गं भवति, अकार्षीत् अहार्षीत्, गुणे कृते रपत्वे
चानन्तत्वाद् त्रिदिने प्राप्नोति

If, then, *antarāṅgaparibhāṣā* prevails in *sicivṛddhi*, the words *akārṣīt*, *ahārṣīt* cannot be formed since the final element of the *aṅga* is not a vowel after the operation of the *sūtras* enjoining *guṇa* and *rāparatva*.

मा मूर्देवम्; हलन्तस्य . . . इत्येवं भविष्यति

Let it not be in that manner; the *sūtra*—*halantasya* . . . operates (and the desired form is obtained).

इह तर्हि न्यस्तारीत् न्यदारीत्, गुणे कृते रपत्वे चानन्तत्वाद्विदिने प्राप्नोति।
हलन्तलक्षणायाच्च नेटि इति प्रतिपेधः।

Then in the words *nyasiārīt*, *nyadārīt*, *vṛddhi* cannot come in after the *sūtras* enjoining the *guṇa* and *rāparatva* operate since the vowel is not final and the *sūtra* ‘*vadurrajaḥalantasya . . .*’ cannot operate since it is prohibited by the *sūtra* ‘*nēṭi*’.

मा मूर्देवम्, लान्तस्य इत्येवं भविष्यति

This cannot be, for it will happen by the *sūtra*—*atō brāntasya*.

इह तर्हि अलारीत् अपावीद्, गुणे कृतेऽवाक्ये चानन्तत्वात् त्रिदिने
प्राप्नोति। हलन्तलक्षणायाच्च नेटि इति प्रतिपेधः।

Then in the words *ahīvīt*, *apāvīt*, *vrddhi* cannot come in after the *sūtras* enjoining *guru* and *avādīśa* operate, since the vowel is not final and the *sūtra*—*vedavrujanhalantasyācāh* is prohibited from operating by the *sūtra*—*nīti*.

मा नूदेवम्, लान्तस्य इत्येवं भविष्यति

This cannot be, for it will happen by the *sūtra*—*atō lrāntasya*.

लान्तस्य इत्युच्यते, न चेदं लान्तम्

It is said when the final is / or r, and this is not having / or r as its final.

लान्तस्य इत्यत्र वकारोऽपि निर्दिश्यते

V also is mentioned in *lrānta*.

किं वकारो न श्रूयते!

Why is not *v* heard?

उपनिदिष्टो वकारः

Vakāra has been dropped.

यथेवं मा भवान्तर्वात् मा भवान् मर्वात्, अत्रापि शास्रोति

If so, *vrddhi* might come in *mā bhavān avīt* and *mā bhanān māvīt*.

अविमत्योर्नेति वक्ष्यामि

I shall say that it does not come in the case of *avīt* and *māvīt*.

तद्वक्तव्यम्

It should be said.

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न वक्तव्यम्, शिखिन्यो तौ निमातव्यौ

No, it need not be said ; they should be exchanged by *ni* and *śri*.

यद्यप्येतदुच्यते, अथैतर्हि णिश्चयोः प्रतिषेषो न वक्तव्यो भवति, गुणे
कृतेऽवादेशे च यान्ताना नेत्रेव प्रतिषेषो भविष्यति

Though this is said so, there is no need for the mention of *ni* and *śri* in the *sūtra* ' *hmyantakṣayaśrusiṣāgruṣisoyeditām*' ; for, after they take *guṇa* and *ayādēśa*, they are prohibited from taking *vrddhi* since they end in *y*.

एवं तर्वाचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्जपियति न सिद्ध्यन्तरङ्गं भवति इति, यदयं अतो
हलादेलंशोः इत्यकारभ्रहणं करोति

The *vyañjikā* of *Acārya* suggests that the *antaraṅga-paribhāṣā* does not operate in the application of the *sūtra* ' *sici vrddhīḥ parusmāi padēśu*' .

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम् ?

How is it to be interpreted to make it a *jñāpaka* ?

अकारभ्रहणस्यैतत्वयोजनम्, इह मा सत् अकोषीत् अमोर्षीत्; यदि
सिद्ध्यन्तरङ्गं स्यात् अकारभ्रहणमनर्थकं स्वात्, गुणे कृतेऽलघुत्वाद्वृद्धिं भविष्यति,
पश्यति त्वाचार्यो न सिद्ध्यन्तरङ्गं भवतीति, ततोऽकारभ्रहणं करोति

The mention of *akāra* has this use that it may not happen in *akōṣīt*, *amōṣīt*; if *antaraṅgaśāstra* prevails in *sici vrddhīḥ*, the use of *akāra* will be of no use since there is no short penultimate after *guṇa* comes. Hence seeing that *antaraṅgaśāstra* does not prevail there, he uses *akāra*.

नेतदस्ति ज्ञापकम्, अस्त्वयन्यदेतस्य वक्त्वे प्रयोजनम्

No, this is not a *jñāpaka*, for there is a purpose in having said it.

किम्? What?

वत्र गुणः प्रतिविद्धते तदधेमेतत्स्यान् न्यकुटीत् न्यपुटीत् इति
Where *guna* is prohibited, it is used there to prohibit *vrddhi*
viz. *nyakuṭīt*, *nyapuṭīt*.

यत्तर्हि णिश्चयोः प्रतिषेषं शास्ति, तेन नेहान्तरङ्गमस्ति इति दर्शयति
Then since prohibition is enjoined for *ni* and *śvi*, *Ācārya*
suggests that *antarāṅgaparibhāṣā* does not prevail here.

यच करोत्यकारभ्रहणं लघोरिति कृतेऽपि

And since *akāra* is read even though there is the word *laghōḥ*,

तस्मादिम्लक्षणा वृद्धिः

Therefore *vrddhi* should be enjoined to *ik*.

VIII

* पञ्च्याः स्थानेयोगत्वादिइनिवृत्तिः

Genitive being supplemented by *sthānē*, all *iks* will disappear.

पञ्च्याः स्थानेयोगत्वात् सर्वेषाभिकां निवृत्तिः प्राप्नोति । अस्यापि प्राप्नोति
दधि मधु

Since the genitive (whose meaning is not defined) is supplemented by the word *sthānē*, all *iks* will disappear. The *ik* of
dadhi and *madhu* will also disappear.

पुनर्वचनमिदानी किमर्थं स्यात्?

What for, then, is the repetition ? †

* The *pūreupakṣa* says that this is a *vidhāyakasāra* and the
ṣabdikānta is that it is a *paribhāṣā*.

† As in midas *gunaḥ*.

अन्यतरार्थं पुनर्वचनम्

The repetition is to choose one of the two.

अन्यतरार्थमेतत्स्यात्—सार्वधातुकार्धिधातुकयोर्गुण एव हृति

This is to choose either of the two viz. *guna* alone in the operation of the *sūtra*—*sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayōḥ*.

* **प्रसारणे च**

In the case of the *sūtra* dealing with *samprasāraṇa*.

प्रसारणे च सर्वेषां यजा निवृत्तिः प्राप्नोति, अस्यापि प्राप्नोति याता वाता

When the *sūtra* dealing with *samprasāraṇa* operates, all *yaj*s will disappear. The *y* and *v* in *yātā* and *vātā* also will disappear.

पुनर्वचनमिदानी किमर्थं स्यात्?

What for is, then, the repetition?

विषयार्थं पुनर्वचनम्

Repetition is to decide the circumstances.

विषयार्थमेतत्स्यात् वच्चिस्वपियजादीनां किल्येवेति *

This is to decide the circumstances viz. *samprasāraṇa* takes place to *vac*, *stap*, *yaj* etc. only when they are followed by *kit*.

उरण् रपे च

In the *sūtra* 'urāṇ raparāḥ' also.

* This takes places when *yajah* in *ig yajah samprasāraṇam* is taken to be a *sthānasasthi*, which is always the case.

उरणरपे च सर्वेषामृकारणां निवृत्तिः प्राप्नोति, अस्त्वा पि प्राप्नोति—
कर्तुं हर्तुं

In the application of the *sūtra*, all *rkāras* will disappear ; it will disappear in the words *kartṛ*, *hṛtṛ* also.

सिद्धं तु पञ्चधिकारे वचनात्

The end is achieved by reading it after *sasṭhi sthānēyoga*.

सिद्धमेतत् ; कथम् ?

This is achieved. How ?

पञ्चधिकारे इसे योगः कर्तव्यः । एकलावत् कियते तत्रैव, इसावपि
योगी पञ्चधिकारमनुवर्तिष्यते

These *sūtrās* have to be read after *sasṭhi sthānēyoga*. One—*Uraṇ-rāparah* is read there and the other two are taken there.

अथवा पञ्चधिकारे इसी अपेक्षिष्यामहे

Or we require them in *sasthyadhihikāra*.

अथवेदं तावदयं प्रह्ल्यः सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोर्गुणो भवति इति हह
कलात् भवति याता बाता !

Or he should first be put this question why *guṇa* does not take place in *yālā* and *vātā* by the *sūtra* ‘*sārvadhātukārdha-dhātukayoh*’.

इदं तत्रापेक्षिष्यते इको गुणवृद्धी इति

This *sūtra* ‘*ikō guṇavṛddhī*’ is read along with it.

यथैव तहि इदं तत्रापेक्षिष्यते एवमिहापि तदपेक्षिष्यामहे सार्वधातु-
कार्धधातुकयोः इति

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As it is read with it there, so also it is read with
sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayōḥ in interpreting its meaning.

Hence it must be noted that प्रसारणे च and उत्तरपूरे च have been mentioned as parallel cases. *Mahābhāsyakāra* first mentioned the difficulties met with, if this *sūtra* is taken a *vidhisūtra* and finally suggested three ways to avert the difficulties, of which the last is the best, where he takes the *sūtra* only as a *paribhāṣā*.

इति शेषद्वयनक्त्यतःलिखितवित्ते व्याकरणमहाभाष्ये प्रथमाधारस्य प्रथमपादे
उद्याहिकं नाम तुतीयमाहिकम्

Vṛddhyāhnikə ends.

CORRIGENDA.

Page.	Line.	For	Read.
1	15	Omit 'a'	
2	, 1	Omit 'of'	
5	1	Omit 'was'	
9	1	Omit 'the' before marriage.	
14	19	Rgveda	Rgvēda
16	17		
17	1, 2	species	individuality
48	23, 28		
22	27	ऐहिक	ऐहिक
35	5	निरुक्ताद्य—	निरुक्ताद्य—
38	26	स्मात्मानं	स्वमात्मानं
41	13	प्रतिष्ठिततम्	प्रतिष्ठिततम्
	27	A	The
55	10	individuality	individuality
	14	Akṛti	Akṛti
	17	अर्थवता—	अर्थवता—
58	4	Add 'to us' before that	
	23	अर्पनियमः	अर्पनियमः
70	13	for	to
72	23	the the	the
78	12	भवत	भवति
89	15	अतिख्यतः	अतिख्यदः
95	9	अहउण	अहउण
106	20	women	woman
116	12	प्राण	प्रोङ
118	2	saṃjñā	saṃjñā
122	7	योगविभाग	योगविभागः
129	21	than	than

Page.	Line.	For.	Read.
140	26	स्वनयति	स्वनयति
143	8	उपदेशः	उपदेशः
145	20	अथवां	अथवा
153	13	एकत्वमर्थां	एकत्वमर्थः
154	18	or	or
160	6}	इति	इति
	27}	सुषृणुपदेशः	सुषृणुपदेशः
168	23	जिह्वीर्पति	जिह्वीर्पति
170	23	इष्य	इष्य
173	2	प्राप्नोति:	प्राप्नोति
174	13}	<i>Aṣṭādhyāyī</i>	<i>Aṣṭādhyāyī</i>
	10}	यंत्र	यत्र
176	14	पदस्यति	पदस्येति
177	18	<i>samjnās</i>	<i>samjnās</i>
187	22	comprehended	comprehended
191	12}	have	as have
	25}	आकारस्य	अकारस्य
192	4	For —	for
216	4	occur	occur

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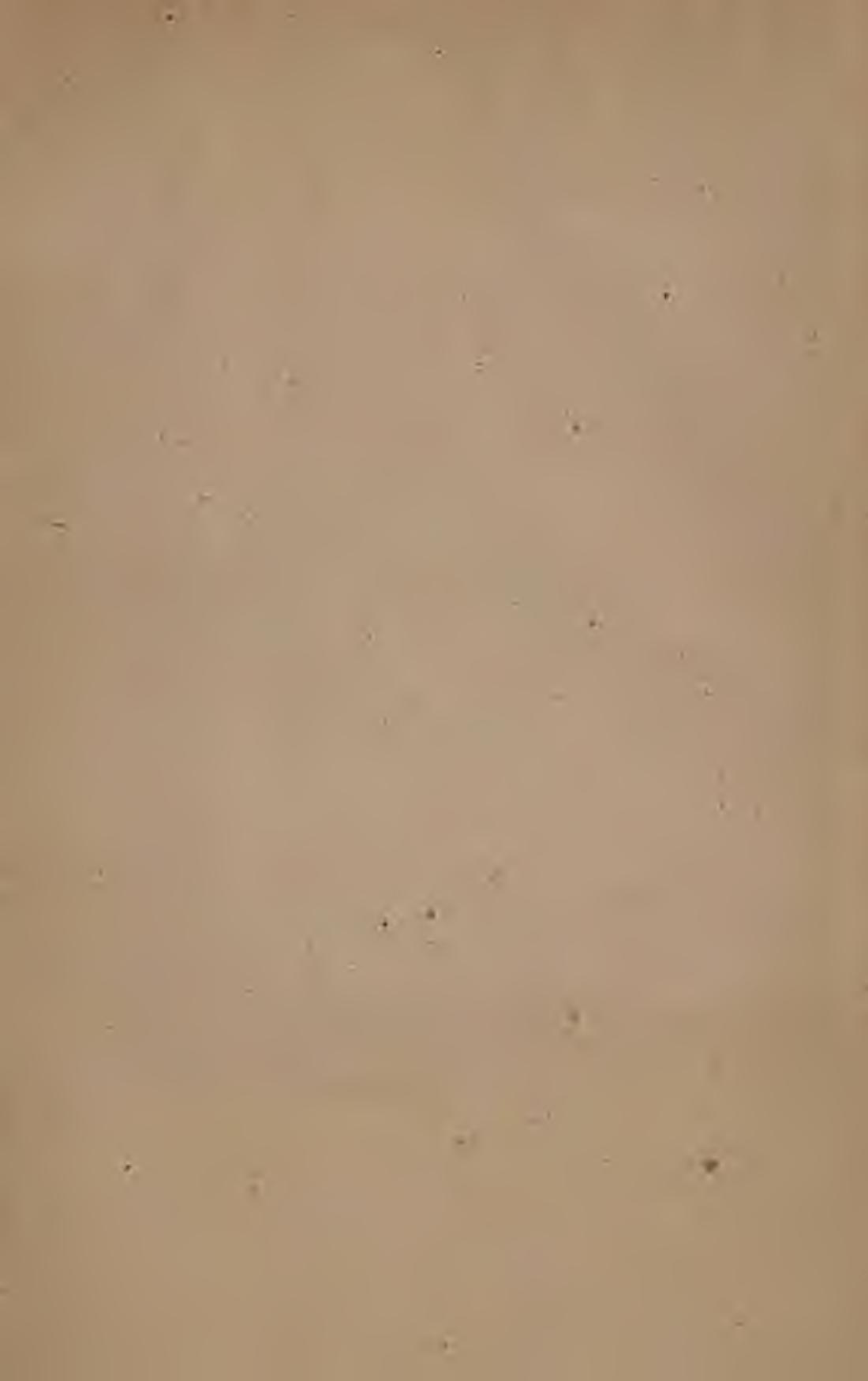
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